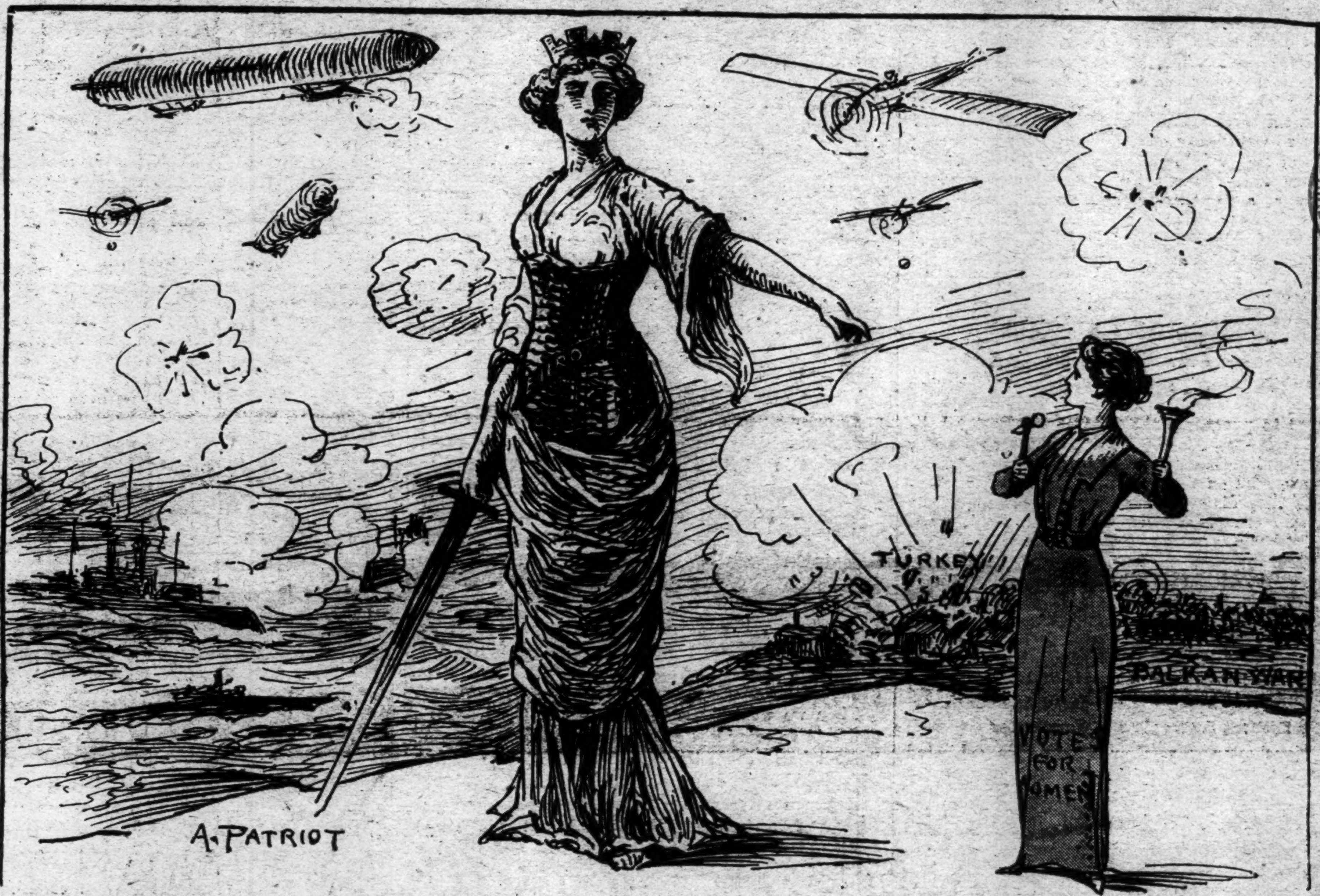
Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 264. FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

PEACE BEGINS AT HOME!



LIBRARY OF C
PERIODICAL DIVISION
APR 8 1913

EUROPE (to Militant Suffragist): "Drop that hammer, my dear. Don't you know that we gain our ends nowadays by peaceable methods?"

("Colossal schemes of military expansion are being prepared by the great Continental Powers."—Daily Paper.)

CONTENTS

PAGE
Our Cartoon 361
The Outlook 361
On the Picket Line. By a Suffragist Picket 362
The Political Situation 363
Government's Coercion Bill 363
Miss Elizabeth Robins on Militant Suffragism....... 364
New Fiction 365
The Responsibility of the Press.................... 366
PAGE
Forcible Feeding—A Denial of Life Everlasting. By Mr. Bernard Shaw 367
VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship 367
Great Protest Meeting Against Forcible Feeding 368
Votes for Women in America 368
The Militant Campaign.... 369
Attack on the Home Secretary 370
Teachers in Conference 370
General News.............. 371

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

It is now believed in political circles that the Woman Suffrage Bill drafted by the Liberal Suffragist group in the House of Commons will be introduced, probably by Mr. Dickinson, early in April, when the Government will be asked to give the promised facilities for it. This Bill, as we have before stated, proposes to give the vote to women over the age of twenty-five who are householders or wives of householders. It would enfranchise more women than a Bill to give them the vote on equal terms with men; but by establishing a fancy franchise for women, and especially by raising the age of qualification, it would ignore the principle of sex equality for which women are fighting.

The Coercion Bill

Woman Suffragists have unanimously refused to support any kind of Private Member's Bill; but at least Mr. Dickinson's Bill is an attempt, however poor, to deal with the cause of the present unrest among women. The same cannot be said of the measure introduced by Mr. McKenna last Tuesday, the object of which is to give the Government power to re-arrest, at the expiration of a certain term to be mentioned on the licence, those hunger-strikers who are released from prison when death from starvation would otherwise ensue. For a coercive measure of this sort, which ignores the disease in attempting to cure the symptom, we have nothing but the strongest condemnation. It may stop forcible feeding, but like all panic legislation it is foredoomed to failure. Women who have lost all fear of imprisonment, torture, or death are not to be deterred by re-arrest; and a succession of hunger-strikes will neither break their spirit nor rid the Government of their present embarrassments. There is but one remedy for the prevailing disorder—a Government measure to enfranchise women. Coercion will only enlarge the sphere of disorder.

The Easter Conferences

The women's question has been discussed both at the Teachers' Conference and also at the Conference of the Independent Labour Party. At the former meeting at Weston-super-Mare, there was a warm debate last Tuesday on the equalisation of the salaries of men and women teachers, a proposal that was rejected by a large majority; and a Suffrage debate was to take place after we went to press on Wednesday. At the I.L.P. Conference at Manchester a resolution was passed condemning forcible feeding, and also another urging the Labour Party in Parliament to press for a Government measure and to oppose every measure of Franchise reform that does not include women; but an effective amendment, demanding that the Party should render all business in the House impossible until the Government measure was forthcoming, was rejected on the ground that it would mean the "suicide of the Labour Party." The Labour Party has yet to learn that existence may be bought too dear. "Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

The Debate on the Militant Suffragists

When we went to press last week the debate in the House of Commons on the treatment of Suffragist prisoners, arising out of the motion for the reduction of the Home Office Vote, was still proceeding; and we think the Labour Party missed a great opportunity in not voting against the Government on this occasion. Even if, as they might allege, they were afraid that by doing so they would appear to favour the more severe measures of repression urged by the supporters of the motion, a statement of their position before going into the lobby would have dispelled any such suspicion, while one decisive action of this kind would do more to convince women of the sincerity of their protestations than anything that has yet been done by the Party, in or out of Parliament.

The Home Secretary's Case

The debate was important from many points of view. It revealed the utter weakness of the Home

Secretary's position, faced as he is by a spirit against which physical force and the whole armoury of the law are alike powerless. He might call it fanaticism—as Mr. Walter Roch finely said, "We owe all our religion to fanatics." He might defend forcible feeding on the grounds of its being in some measure a deterrent—a defence which would condone any form of torture; but he gave his own case away directly he admitted that 14 per cent. of the Suffragists sent to prison this year have determined their own sentences after being forcibly fed.

Attempts to Cure the Symptom

At the same time, it must be admitted that the case of his assailants, who were to be found on both sides of the House, was little stronger than his own. The "let-them-die" theory found scarcely a supporter. Transportation, though advanced by no less serious a Parliamentarian than Lord Robert Cecil, fared little better. Mr. Keir Hardie alone went to the root of the matter and pointed out that there was no remedy save in enfranchising women.

Forcible Feeding Doomed

The one outstanding feature of the debate was the fact that scarcely anyone could be found to echo Mr. McKenna's defence of forcible feeding. And while this hideous process was being uncompromisingly condemned at Westminster, a great demonstration was being held in the Kingsway Hall for the purpose of protesting against its continuance. The difference between the two assemblies was startling. In the one, brains were being cudgelled for some temporary solution of an insoluble situation; in the other, the temporary faded before the eternal, and a great Churchman, a great actor, and a great writer saw in the torture of Suffragist prisoners something which one of them called "a denial of life everlasting." There was no need at the Kingsway Hall meeting to remind the audience that the one remedy was the woman's vote. Only a passionate desire for freedom could have brought those speakers and that audience together.

The Inevitable Result

Meanwhile, coercion and repression are having their inevitable effect, and militant outbreaks have continued to punctuate the days of the Easter holiday. The house of Lady White, valued at £3,000, has been almost entirely destroyed by fire; an attempt to burn another unoccupied house at Beckenham was only discovered in time to prevent serious damage. More pillar-boxes have been fired, more golf links have been damaged. All these outbreaks are attributed to Suffragists, in view of the presence of Suffrage literature; no arrests, however, have been made. For the first time, it is said, Hampton Court has been closed to the public over the week-end; and Windsor Castle is guarded like a beleaguered fortress—presumably because one of His Majesty's subjects, suffering from an intolerable grievance, might venture to give effect to the Bill of Rights.

Militant Suffragists at Manchester

At Manchester, Mr. Keir Hardie was subjected during the week-end to a good deal of heckling by militant Suffragists, who, on one occasion, held up his meeting for some fifteen minutes. Three of the women, having read his defence of militancy, made at an outdoor demonstration on Sunday, wrote to explain to him that their purpose in heckling him was to make him see that individual action on his part was of little use as long as he allowed his party to support the Government in their treatment of the Suffrage question. Two of these women were afterwards arrested for obstruction outside the Hall where the Conference was held, and one of them went to prison last Tuesday.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

The exasperation of women, which leads them even to oppose individual Suffragists when these are leaders of a Party that help to keep the present Government in office, can better be understood when their hostility is viewed in connection with the actions of that Government. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is the latest victim of official torture to be released from Holloway Gaol. She has served five weeks of her two months' sentence, and nearly all the time has been forcibly fed twice daily. She is covered with bruises; her digestion is seriously impaired; even the nerves of her eyes are said to be strained. Our admiration for courageous endurance such as hers is only equalled by our condemnation of a Government that can seek to meet so rare a quality with outrage and torture sooner than carry their own principles into practice. Eight women are now being forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol.

Items of Interest

Important secessions have taken place from the Cambridge Women's Liberal Association, Miss Julia Kennedy, the honorary secretary, Mrs. Rackham, and other prominent Liberal women, having sent in their resignations as a protest against the Government's treatment of Woman Suffrage.

We have received a special cable from America informing us that the electors of Alaska have enfranchised the women by a unanimous vote. This we take to mean that the Alaska Legislature has passed the proposition, and it will now be submitted to a Referendum. We heartily congratulate our Alaskan sisters on their victory.

ON THE PICKET LINE

By a Suffragist Picket

(We reprint the following episode in the New York garment-workers' strike, with acknowledgments to "Life and Labour," in which it originally appeared.)

January 31.—I was arrested last night with Leonora O'Reilly and seven other pickets on 23rd Street in the garment workers' strike! Great! Miss —— (the novelist) and I were together. Later a plain clothes man refused to hold us—we were dressed in velvet and a little fur and jewellery.

One of the women suffragists had called me up and asked me to go. So I went. She said the police were acting shamefully, and they are, and how they lie, and lie!

When we reached the shop we walked a little past and the pickets turned and walked back two by two, no more, no loitering, no crowding. Then the policemen gathered, three of them and one mounted. A car arrived to take some of the strike-breakers away. Suddenly they began to come out. Leonora made a sharp turn down to the edge of the sidewalk and called to some girls ahead. Just then four policemen standing in the doorway of the shop threw out their line straight across the sidewalk and, deliberately or not, separated us from Leonora and gathered all the girls on that side into the dragnet.

In court, the police accused the girls of yelling scab, but they had said nothing at all. The arrest was made before the strike-breakers were on the sidewalk. At no time were Miss —— and I farther than five feet from the girls, and that only for a moment or two, it would have been impossible for them to have yelled scab without our hearing it. Afterwards I heard Leonora O'Reilly crying, "Shame upon you!" But the police made the arrest on nothing at all.

We got around on to the O'Reilly side forthwith, and finally a policeman laid a hand upon Miss ——'s shoulder and said, "What are you ladies doing here? You ain't in this!"

Next appeared a plain clothes man who said, "Now, the patrol waggon is coming, and you girls will all be treated decently." (This was said for our benefit, then he turned to us.) "What are you ladies doing here? You'd better go."

We insisted that we, too, were under arrest, and Leonora said, "Yes, officer, these women are with us." But the officer refused our right to ride in the patrol waggon, simply because of the way we were dressed. Infuriating!

Then we went down to the edge of the sidewalk and said to every girl as she was put in the waggon, "We'll be in court to-night!" "The Night Court, girls," said Leonora, as she stepped in and sat down, and began singing the Marseillaise! The waggon drove off with the girls ripping out the song! Leonora is a wonderful woman, has been a shirtmaker by trade, now an organizer of the Women's Trade Union League and one of its vice-presidents.

At nine o'clock we went to the Night Court. I am convinced that every woman ought to be arrested at least once in her life to get accustomed to the court. I cannot express how absolutely we were filled with resentment against the injustice done those girls. A lot of our friends were in court, it was like a small town reception before court was called.

There were about thirty-five strikers to be tried, and they were fined from five to ten dollars—that drains a union treasury, you know. When Leonora and her squad came in my heart went up in my throat with scare—you know what I have always said about being a witness—but, when I heard the policeman and the plain clothes man lying, nothing could have held me back from the witness chair.

They swore that Leonora O'Reilly had screamed, "Shame on you scabs, scabs, scabs!" and that all the other girls had screamed scab at the top of their voices, and that they saw each individual girl yell "scab," and so swore! The plain clothes man said, in addition, "After we got the defendants in the corridor two well-dressed women who are now in court pushed their way in and began——" Ruled out. But at that moment Miss —— and I, moved by some common impulse, went down the aisle to the railing. The custodian asked our business, and we said we were witnesses for these girls.

I cannot tell you with what inner composure and fire I stepped upon that stand and raised my hand to God.

"I left Labour Temple this afternoon with Miss O'Reilly and her friends," I said.

"Oh," said the Judge, "you were with them from the beginning?"

"Miss —— and I were with them from the beginning. We consulted with our lawyers before we went on the picket lines, and were told clearly what does and what does not constitute disorderly conduct. I affirm that the pickets did their duty in a legal manner, without loitering, crowding, assaulting, or crying opprobrious terms." Then I described the arrest, making it clear that we had been next to Miss O'Reilly much of the time and were deftly separated by the police line at the moment of arrest. "But we were just behind the police at the moment of the arrest, and at that time no one was crying scab——"

"You swear that?" asked the Judge.

"I swear it," I replied. "It was not possible for me not to have heard it, with them, if the girls were calling."

I had told the lawyer that we had been under arrest ourselves for a few moments, and I wanted to tell that to the Judge, but he stopped me when I said, "We were swept up into the corridor," and I stopped, being ignorant of all law procedure.

"You are not one of these women?" said the Judge, after a minute.

"These women?" I asked, and he smiled a little.

"You are not a garment worker by profession?"

"No."

"You have never worked at their trade?"

"No."

"But you sympathise with them?"

"Yes."

All was over then, and we went back to our seats. Leonora was fined five dollars, not for what the police swore she said, but because she admitted calling, "Shame upon you!" and the other girls were discharged. It should be followed up, but that would take time and money. But we have got hold of effective ways and means of stopping brutality and false swearing if enough outside women can be found to stand on the lines and then appear in court and testify what the girls really do. The police are simply gathering them up before they do anything. And there have been some cases of shocking brutality.

But think of it—all that made the difference was clothes! All of us were doing the same thing, and the police deliberately would not arrest us.

FASHIONABLE WRAPPERS

Our stock of Wrappers and Rest Gowns is exceptionally large and well assorted. We buy all the most exclusive Paris Models and copy and adapt them in our own workrooms. Some of the latest models are of a particularly dainty character. They are, moreover, beautifully made from high-grade material.

Practical Wrapper, in best quality wool-back Satin, lined silk throughout, and fastening on one side with one large hook. In sky, pink, heliotrope, white, grey, violet, saxe, cherry and black.

Price 49/6.

Debenham & Freebody
Wigmore Street. London. W
Famous for over a Century for Taste, for Quality, for Value.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

THE GOVERNMENT'S COERCION BILL

The following are the chief provisions of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill, introduced by Mr. McKenna last Tuesday:—

1. (1) If the Secretary of State is satisfied that by reason of the condition of a prisoner's health it is undesirable to detain him in prison, but that, such condition of health being due in whole or in part to the prisoner's own conduct in prison, it is desirable that his release should be temporary and conditional only, the Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, by order authorise the temporary discharge of the prisoner for such period and subject to such conditions as may be stated in the order.

(2) Any prisoner so discharged shall comply with any conditions stated in the order of temporary discharge and shall return to prison at the expiration of the period stated in the order, or of such extended period as may be fixed by any subsequent order of the Secretary of State, and if the prisoner fails so to comply or return he may be arrested without warrant and taken back to prison.

(3) Where a prisoner under sentence is discharged in pursuance of an order of temporary discharge the currency of the sentence shall be suspended from the day on which he is discharged from prison under the order to the day on which he is received back into prison, so that the former day shall be reckoned and the latter shall not be reckoned as part of the sentence.

(4) Where an order of temporary discharge is made in the case of a prisoner not under sentence, the order shall contain conditions requiring the attendance of the prisoner at any further proceedings on his case at which his presence may be required.

2. (1) Where the prisoner is undergoing a sentence of penal servitude the powers under this Act shall be in addition to and not in substitution for the power of granting licences under the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891.

(2) Nothing in this Act shall affect the duties of the medical officer of a prison in respect of a prisoner whom the Secretary of State does not think fit to discharge under this Act.

THE LIBERAL SUFFRAGISTS' BILL

It is announced that the Woman's Suffrage Bill, formulated by the Liberal Suffragists' Committee, will be presented to the House of Commons, probably by Mr. Dickinson, early in April, and the Government will then be asked to give the promised facilities for the second reading. It has been drafted by the group, in co-operation with the Solicitor-General, and has received the approval of those Cabinet Ministers who are in favour of votes for women. The Bill proceeds on the lines of the measure originally brought in by Mr. Dickinson, who is now Chairman of the group. It proposes to confer the franchise upon:—

1. Women, whether married or unmarried, who, if they were men, would be entitled to be registered and to vote in respect of the household qualification, i.e., as inhabitant occupiers of dwelling-houses; and
2. Wives of such inhabitant occupiers residing in the same premises as their husbands.
3. The franchise to be given only to women over twenty-five years of age.

Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse, M.P., contributed an article to last Tuesday's *Daily News* in which, after asserting his belief that the Suffrage Bill drafted on what he calls "the Dickinson lines" will be the one to which facilities are to be given by the Government, he proceeds to discuss the chances of such a measure becoming law. It will be supported, he thinks, by the Labour Party, though they would prefer a wider measure.

"The attitude of Conservative Suffragists," he continues, "is more complicated. The majority have never desired a Bill which will enfranchise nearly as many women as men. They have desired to see a more cautious beginning, and for this reason they will, in the Committee stage, endeavour to reduce the number of women to be enfranchised. One way in which this may be attempted is the raising of the age at which women will be allowed to vote to thirty."

He also believes that militant tactics "have had more hardening influences in that party than upon the other side of the House," but believes that "each week that passes tends to reduce this influence." With regard to Liberal members, he thinks that what "appears to be daily recognised more clearly is the fact that the militants belong to an extremely small body, and do not represent the moral and intellectual forces among the general public which are mainly responsible for the progress made in recent years."

Where are the Moral and Intellectual Forces?

The writer does not, however, appear to find in the law-abiding Suffragists that moral and intellectual force that is lacking, for him, in the militants. "Much more discouraging to the Liberals in the House," he says, "is the attitude of the National Union of Suffrage Societies. The weakness of the position of the latter is that their leaders do not realise how bad a method the one which collapsed last January really was, and how much better a plan is a private Bill which will yet have as full facilities as though it were a Government Bill, and if necessary the protection of the Parliament Act."

The Irish Party

With regard to the Irish Party, Mr. Whitehouse states that the Bill as now drawn applies to Ireland, but that it cannot become law until after Home Rule is established because "it will apparently require the protection of the Parliament Act as it finds its way to the Statute Book." Finally, he concludes by saying: "I believe there is good reason for thinking that the Bill will be carried. Personally I have no hesitation in saying that the prospects are far better than were the prospects of the Suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill. The new Bill commands the undoubted support of practically the whole of the Liberal Suffragists; it will have the support of the Labour Party, and, as far as I can judge at the moment, there is no ground for thinking it an unreasonable proposition that Conservative and Nationalist Suffragists will support the Bill, not only on the Second Reading, but in whatever modified form it may emerge from the Committee."

PRESS CRITICISMS

THE OPTIMIST

Suffragist members speak gloomily of the chances of the Woman Suffrage Bill. Even a successful Second Reading is unlikely. The suffragettes are alike cause and excuse.—**The Nation.**

THE COERCION BILL

This only offers a series of hunger-strikes.—**Dundee Advertiser.**

They will still be set free as at present, but will be liable to re-arrest. Such re-arrest will presumably be resorted to only if they again break the law, so that really the women will be in almost the same position as at present.—**Hull Daily Mail.**

THE ONLY WAY

Yet it is questionable whether the method proposed of releasing prisoners on licence, as in the case of convicts, and re-arresting them when they regain health or break the law while on licence, will have any real effect. A recognition of the justice of the claim of women who pay rates and taxes to a share in making the laws they are called upon to obey would seem a simple and more natural solution of the difficulty.—**Dundee Evening Telegraph**

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

The woman's vote played a considerable part in the deliberations of the Independent Labour Party, whose annual conference opened at Manchester last Monday. Miss Margaret Ashton, in a greeting of welcome to the delegates, said that the suffrage women of the whole country were deeply indebted to the Independent Labour Party for the action they were taking to help forward the cause of women's freedom.

"Give us the Paddles"

"Your freedom is won," Miss Ashton continued. "You have only to make use of it. For us freedom is yet lacking. We look to you to supplement our efforts with your votes. You have the power to do this great deed of enfranchising the rest of the human race. We have been told we ought to paddle our own canoe. (Laughter.) Give us the paddles and we will do so." (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. W. C. Anderson, in his presidential address, alluded as follows to the question:—

"The years as they pass bear testimony to the progress of the Socialist and Labour cause. But these social issues affect men and women equally, and we desire passionately that women shall not be political outlaws, but citizens. The exclusion of women from political rights is a deep and intolerable wrong, and the battle must be maintained with increasing vigour, until franchise rights are granted on equal terms to women and men, until manhood and womanhood suffrage is an accomplished fact. The pledge given to the women by the Prime Minister remains unfulfilled, and can only be redeemed by the introduction of a Government measure extending the franchise to women. That is a demand which, in my opinion, ought to be steadily pressed by our movement." (Cheers.)

A MILITANT DISCUSSION

During the discussion of the report of the National Administrative Council, a paragraph acknowledging the help given to Labour candidates at by-elections by the N.U.W.S.S., "the largest and most influential of the suffrage organisations," occasioned a warm discussion.

Mrs. M. Coates-Hansen (Middlesborough) asked whether the I.L.P. members of the Labour Party had asked the Labour Party to demand a Government measure giving votes to women.

The Chairman said he could not say whether they had or not. In any case, they had no mandate to do that until it was given to them by this Conference.

"This Handful of Women"

Mrs. Coates-Hansell moved that the words "most influential" be deleted from the paragraph. Seven years ago, for standing up at the Conference and protesting against the inactivity of the I.L.P., certain women, notably Mrs. Pankhurst, were practically sent out of the Labour party to fight their own battle. They were told their fight was purely a women's fight. It was through the action of this handful of women that the suffrage movement had become what it was to-day.

Mr. Eastmill (Bow and Bromley) seconded the proposition "in order to obtain the feeling of the Conference."

Mr. George Lansbury

Mr. George Lansbury (Bow and Bromley), supporting the proposition, said that the National Union was, comparatively and relatively speaking, an insignificant organisaton until the militant movement began in this country. He asked the Conference not to differentiate between the various suffrage societies. The fact that the National Union was co-operating with the I.L.P. did not make the Union "the most influential." (Laughter.) Were those words put in from a lively sense of favours still to come? (Hear, hear, and more laughter.) The Conference would not now be discussing women's suffrage if no militancy had taken place, "I am only asking you," he continued, "not to take sides in this way by sending out to the world that the one organisation that happens to be finding you money with which to run your candidates—(Interruption and cries of "It's not true!").

"It is true," Mr. Lansbury persisted. "In Bow and Bromley this organisation gave £200 to the funds that helped to pay my election expenses, and it is giving contributions to I.L.P. and Labour candidates at the present time. There is no secret about it, and there is nothing dishonourabout about it either." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Davis said that if the National Union gave £200 to Bow and Bromley it was to Mr. Lansbury and not to the I.L.P.; and the Chairman followed this up by saying that the truth was that the I.L.P. had never received one penny from the National Unon, although it was true the Union had offered to help them to pay for the building up of part of the organisation. At the same time, he did not wish it to be understood that he regarded such money as unclean or dishonourable. The money of women who were fighting for their freedom was as clean and honest as any that could come from any section of the community.

A Reactionary Speech

Dr. Marion Phillips (Kensington) urged the Conference not to allow itself to be carried away by the notion that the suffrage movement had benefited by militant action. Militancy had not forwarded it. To-day they had a great deal of talk in the papers about militancy, and mighty little about suffrage. The militant movement had switched the thoughts of the people off suffrage and on to mere discussions of violence, and it had aroused in people's minds and hearts a feeling of brutal insult, of exasperation and of aggravation which would not help the women's cause. (Hear, hear.)

A vote by card resulted in the proposition for the deletion of two words being rejected by 214 votes against 62.

THE SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION

On the closing day of the Conference the following resolution was moved by Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., in a speech pointing out the failure of the Prime Minister to redeem his pledge:—

> That this conference condemns emphatically the breach of faith of which the Cabinet has been guilty in withdrawing from its oft-repeated pledge to take full Cabinet responsibility for any Woman's Suffrage Bill which passed its second reading by a free vote of the House of Commons; and declares that the only satisfactory method of dealing with the situation thus created is for the Government itself to introduce a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill framed on broad and democratic lines, and invites the Labour Party to bring all possible pressure to bear on the Government to secure this, and, in particular, to vigorously oppose and defeat all proposals for amending the franchise or registration laws unless women are included therein.

A Really Strong Amendment

Mr. Fenn (Birkenhead) moved an amendment urging that until such a measure was forthcoming the party should render all business in the House impossible, and in the event of the measure being lost, should vote against the Government at all subsequent divisions.

Mr. G. Lansbury supported the amendment as being the logical outcome of all the speeches that day. The Government had broken every honourable pledge they gave with regard to women's suffrage, and so altered the whole of the political situation that it was their duty to drive the Government from power until they redeemed their promise. The Labour Party was going to jeopardise the Government on the Plural Voting Bill. He asked them to do it on every other question. (Applause.)

Mr. W. C. Anderson vacated the chair in order to oppose the amendment. He said the Labour Party could not follow the policy laid down in the amendment without first of all resigning their seats and appealing to their constituents. If the Labour members resigned on the women's suffrage issue and went back to their constituents and said: "Give us power to smash up everything in Parliament until women have the vote," there would not be a single member returned.

"What you are asking them to do," said Mr. Anderson, "is to commit suicide in the alleged interests of women's suffrage."

On a card vote the amendment was defeated by 235 votes to 17.

PROTEST AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

The following resolution, from the Bow and Bromley branch, was carried unanimously, without discussion:—

> That this Conference indignantly records its protest against the brutal and disgusting forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners, both men and women, and also declares its conviction that such barbarous methods of dealing with political offenders or other persons are unworthy a nation calling itself civilised, and calls upon the Labour party in Parliament to at once take the necessary steps in the House of Commons for putting an end to this brutal method of torture.

MORE LIBERAL WOMEN REBELS

At Cambridge important secessions from the Women's Liberal Association have taken place in consequence of the inaction of the Liberal Government with regard to Woman Suffrage. Unable to carry the Cambridge W.L.A. with her in her anti-Government protest, Miss Julia Kennedy, their honorary secretary, tendered her resignation and withdrew from the Association. Other well-known Cambridge ladies, members of the Committee, followed Miss Kennedy's example. "The Association," adds the *Standard*, "is thus shorn of the greater number of its most active and influential members, including several such as Mrs. Bateson and Mrs. Rackham, P.L.G., whose names are well-known in many circles outside Cambridge."

Solving the Difficulty of Dressing Well

TO meet the demand for a really well cut costume of unquestionable quality at a moderate price, I have specially designed a number of original models.

THESE elegant costumes, which are tailored under my personal supervision by master craftsmen, possess the individuality and distinction of specially made models. Necessary alterations are attended to by me personally rather than entrusted to the usual cheap alteration hands. The prices range from 3½ guineas.

The Model illustrated is a typical example of my new models for this season. Blue Serge, fine wide Rib Piped Satin. Motifs on Collar, lined Silk **£4 4**

Ready to Wear.

George Chapman
27, Princes Street
Hanover Square
LONDON——W.

"Flako" The Purest Form of Soap
"Flako"
Regd
Soap in flakes
for fine fabrics
Use "FLAKO" for Fine Woollens and Flannels, Lace, Silk and Feathers, and all Fine Fabrics.
IT IS INVALUABLE AS A SHAMPOO, REFRESHING AND INVIGORATING IN THE BATH.
JOHN KNIGHT LTD

To be obtained in 1d. and 3d. packets from all Stores, Grocers, or Oilmen.

Send 1d. stamp to Dept. 'V.' for Free Sample.

JOHN KNIGHT, LTD.,
Soapmakers by Appointment to H.M. KING GEORGE V.
The Royal Primrose Soap Works,
LONDON, E.

"THE MAN'S SHARE."

—BY—

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

(The speech delivered by him from the dock of the Old Bailey, May, 1912, together with a biographical note.)

PRICE ONE PENNY.

On sale at Votes for Women Publishing Offices,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS ON MILITANT SUFFRAGISM

"The reactionary should not make too much of the fact that the women of these islands have not yet attained political liberty. Hundreds of thousands of them have been given the Freedom of the City of the *Soul*."—"Way Stations," p. 381.*

The delicate pen of the artist goes straight to the facts that are of account. Miss Elizabeth Robins, rightly looking ahead, wastes no time over comment on the unessential. This latest volume of hers, with its combination of mature confidence and fastidiousness, puts the case of Votes for Women in a form that must appeal to all thinking men and women. That one of the most sensitively gifted writers of our day should have identified her faith in the freedom of women to come with that branch of the Suffrage movement which proudly proclaims itself militant, would be, if that movement were downhearted, a great encouragement; and while that movement is triumphantly upholding the historical continuity of revolt and reform and fearlessness, as things human and without sex, is an expression of comradeship and support of which the value cannot easily be estimated.

One feels paradoxically glad to learn from her book that Miss Robins keeps in touch with many Anti-Suffragists. I imagine, indeed, that she may have grown up amongst the best type of these. Her work has the rare value that comes from seeing the other point of view (when it is intelligent) as clearly as her own. To many thinkers the dividing line between one camp and another is indeed only a line, but it makes all the world of difference to thought and action—"The little more, and how much it is." And so we find in Miss Robins' writing a certain social tolerance that we must all admire, even because we find it so difficult of attainment.

This volume consists of speeches and articles delivered or written by Miss Robins since the time when the intellectual passion behind militancy brought her free spirit to this cause. Those speeches and articles are linked together by a "Time Table" which gives concisely and carefully an account of the history of the Suffrage movement since the day when two young girls, for asking a question at a Liberal meeting, were sent to prison, in 1905. This Time Table is in itself valuable, and combined with the rest of the book we have the outer history of a big movement, and of how Miss Robins personally came to it and with it.

To select points from the intricacies of an intellectual attitude must always seem crude and harsh; but it does seem as if Miss Robins' criticisms of those who have and use the power to suppress freedom and trample on the desire for it come under two heads. One is ignorance and inattention; and the other is the debasing influence of party feeling. For my part, I think Miss Robins is entirely in the right when she refuses to believe that all the cruelty, stupidity, and vulgarity shown by the Government has been planned and meant for the hideous thing to which in practice it works out. The root of the difficulty is that women are fighting against an age-long tradition (to the fabric of which they have themselves contributed not a few threads); and that men cannot easily lose their pleasant habit of smiling when they speak of women and their whims. That the woman's demand is logical and reasonable matters not a straw. Men remain entirely incredulous with regard to the possibility of women feeling, determining, struggling, suffering, just as they might, under oppression, do themselves. They cannot do away with the idea that women are a privileged, happy, sheltered set of cherished wives and mothers, or even sisters—always happily related to some toiling male. And it is because they have shut their eyes and brains to the facts of life, that they find their glass house rudely smashed by stones. It has been difficult for women to understand the slowness of men to see their needs. As Miss Robins says:—

> Among other discoveries women found, to their astonishment, that men, whether by nature or training, are the less reasonable sex, the more superstitious, the more helpless before custom.

With all Miss Robins has to say of party politics, readers of Votes for Women will more than agree. The fetish of party does not appeal to free women any more than it does to-day to enlightened men. From men and women to-day we want sincerity and a faithful desire for justice and truth. But it was necessary to awaken the somnolent politician, and it is still necessary. We are glad that Miss Robins has sent out to the world her support of the militant movement, and we know that in generations to come sons and daughters of Britain will bless those women who paid in soul and body the price of their freedom. And they will understand—as people will understand and love their friends when it is too late. Even Burke could say, "I am not of the opinion of these gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose. I like a clamour whenever there is an abuse. The fire-bell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burnt in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the country, but preserves all the property of the province."

To recommend Miss Robins' book would be an impertinence; but we may all join in gratitude to her for having published it. J. E. M.

---

* "Way Stations." By Elizabeth Robins. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.)

THE URBITOR BURBERRY

The permanent characteristic of the British Climate is its changeability—settled contrariety—changes of weather—which call for something out of the ordinary as protective covering

THE URBITOR, under these conditions, is invaluable. No other overcoat or weatherproof offers so many advantages.

Be the weather mild or chilly, an **URBITOR** is the coat to wear. In the former case, it is light and air-free; in the latter, its dense weaving prevents penetration by wind or cold.

The weather may be wet or fine; an **URBITOR** is the best coat on each occasion. Its non-absorbent nature keeps out heavy rains in a wonderful way. There is no soakage, consequently no dragging weight of water to be carried.

THE URBITOR is made of pure wool coatings, especially manufactured by Burberrys for the purpose of obtaining the perfect weatherproof.

The choice of patterns is unlimited, ranging through all colours and shades.

There are very many designs of **THE URBITOR** coat itself—models for every purpose.

The Urbitor Burberry.

Write for the book of THE URBITOR. It is well worth while.

BURBERRYS Haymarket, S.W., LONDON;
8 and 10, Boulevard Malesherbes, PARIS;
Basingstoke; and Appointed Agents in Provincial Towns.

JAEGER
Fine Pure Wool

Shirts & Blouses.

These Shirts are most suitable for Summer Wear. They do not "Crush," and therefore always look fresh when the coat or jacket is removed.

Each Shirt is "full-fitting," well cut and tailored.

ADELA.

A smartly tailored Shirt with side pocket and new "Artist" collar.

In striped Shirtings,
34-in., 36-in., 38-in., **11/6.**
40-in., 42-in., **12/6.**

LONDON:
126, Regent St., W.
456, Strand, Charing Cross, W.C.
102, Kensington High St., W.
30, Sloane St., S.W.
115, Victoria St., S.W.
85 & 86, Cheapside, E.C.

Agents in all the Principal Towns. Address on application.

At the
Regent St. House
of Peter Robinson

Correct Models in
'Elegantease' Corsets

LADIES, everywhere, who know our "Elegantease' Corsets will be pleased to hear that the new Models in this famous make have arrived and may now be inspected in our Underclothing Salons. We picture two Styles that will be correct for Spring Gowns:—

'Elegantease" Model No. 15.—Up-to-date Corset, very low in bust and coming well down over hips and back. Lightly boned and very firm, yet does not create undue pressure in any part. In strong white spot material, a somewhat less expensive fabric than those usually employed in making these corsets; thus we are enabled to offer it at **18/9**

"Elegantease" Model No. 12.—An entirely new shape in fine white Coutille, specially designed for the Spring. It is very low in the bust, and comes well down over the hip and back, fitting so closely round the edge that, though the gown may be composed of the thinnest and most clinging of materials, no unsightly ridge will be discernible. In sizes 18 to 30 **29/6**

The "Elegantease" Corset Book
:: sent post free anywhere ::

Peter Robinson Ltd.,
of Regent Street

NEW FICTION

"THE REEF"

As usual, Mrs. Wharton gives us in "The Reef" (Macmillan, 6s.) beautiful literary workmanship in her clear and exquisite style, full of fine detail, yet artistically restrained. There is no self-conscious straining after effect; the medium is never allowed to become obtrusive, as is the way with so many writers with whom style is of supreme importance. "The Reef" is a fine picture, yet it lacks the poignancy, the sense of irrevocable tragedy, which one felt in the "House of Mirth." The characters live and breathe, yet they lack robust vitality. In fact, the picture evoked is of a finely painted modern "Interior," say, with figures of charming people indulging in cultured sentiment, although we feel they must be suffering intensely in reality.

Anna is a product of American cultured, refined womanhood, a "daughter of wealth," therefore removed from sordid care and the less "select" aspects of life. She is always in a carefully guarded circle, away from the real battle of life. Anna is left a widow after a few years of colourless marriage with a man whose chief passion seemed to be that of "collecting" and arranging art treasures, and falls in love with a man whom she had met in her girlhood. The two seem destined for each other. Yet this man is unfaithful to their love, a very temporary infidelity, it is true, during a period of pique and disappointment caused by Anna's habit of delay and indecision (in spite of her strong chin and Amazon profile). The crass reality confronts her and the problem arises: Can she ever forget? She forgives and loves irresistibly, but will not the memory of her lover's deception ever pursue and embitter their relations? Apparently it will, given Anna's temperament. The theme has been worked out many times from the point of view of both sexes. With Mrs. Wharton's ending (it is not a solution), which trails off indefinitely on a minor note, we are conscious of a certain dissatisfaction. Not that Darrow had not acted really badly (although he is almost as colourless as Anna's husband), but Anna with her tears and helpless jealousy is—a bore! One is sorry for her, of course; but one feels she will go on being the central figure in her cultured, artistic picture of life, with graceful regrets. It is all Anna's point of view, Anna with "her sensitiveness to the appeal of things, to the colour and texture of whatever wove itself into the substance of her emotion." Would she not suffer too much from remembrance of her lover's infidelity? She feels she would, yet she goes on clinging to him. A touch of irony in the book, and what would become of them all?

Women out in the struggle of life, not living luxurious lives in French chateaux, are apt to feel impatient with a heroine of this stamp. The world wants strong women, unselfish women, broad-minded women, who can either renounce or hold firmly their chances of happiness.

"WINDYRIDGE"

There is a type of story, comparatively easy to write, which might be called the "invalid novel." You come at it in this way: Take one tired worker, man or woman, weary of the problems of great cities; set him or her down in a far-a-way corner of the earth and let recovery take place slowly, to the accompaniment of the crowing of the barndoor cock, the lowing of the cow, and the quaint and homely wisdom of the countryman. Out of such materials you make your story. It may be quite a good one, as W. Riley's "Windyridge" (London: Herbert Jenkins, 6s.) is, but the pattern on which it is constructed shows through all the same. The writer, following the call of the "Inner Self," and not quite sure whether she is acting wisely or whimsically, takes a third-class ticket to Yorkshire to hear a choir sing, and she does not come back. Finding a little whitewashed cottage on the edge of a moor, with a dear little old lady next door to act propriety, she settles in, makes more or less of a living as a photographer, and tells us all about the country folk. Finally, as we expected, she marries the cynical young lawyer who is marked down for her by the dear old lady, and lives happy ever after. *Voila!*

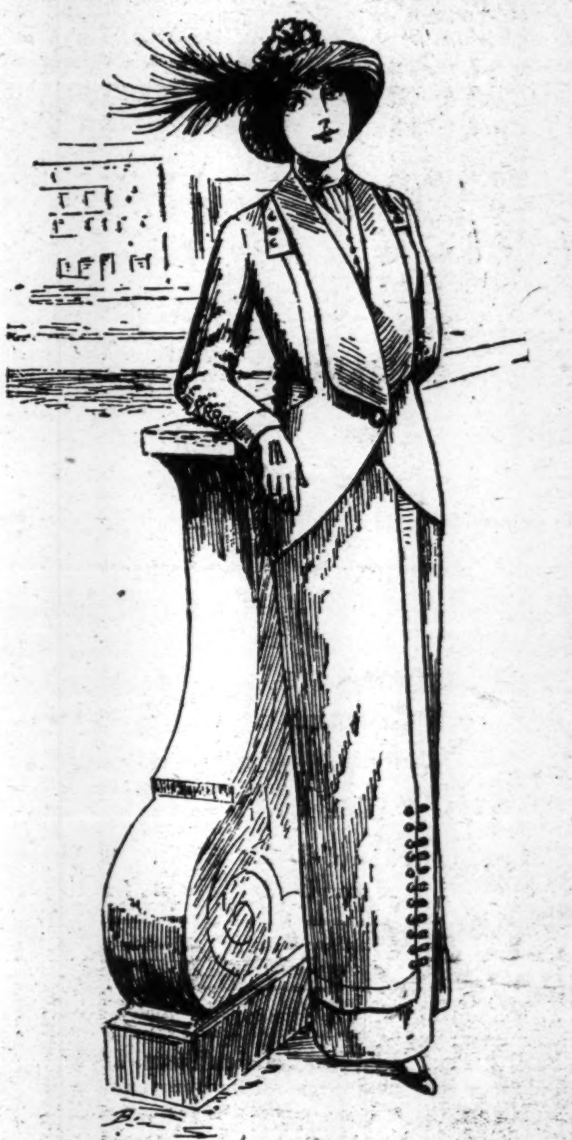
"LADY OF THE NIGHT"

We cannot help quarrelling somewhat with Benjamin Swift. In writing a novel it sometimes happens that one of the characters gets out of hand, and refuses to run in harness, and this, evidently, is what Henry Ratcliffe did. Though not, ostensibly, one of the most important people in "Lady of the Night" (Eveleigh Nash, 6s.), he grows and grows, like Topsy, till in the end he tumbles right out of the picture. The story of Ratcliffe's conversion from gentlemanly burgling to expiation in prison is magnificent material for a novelist, yet in Benjamin Swift's hands it receives almost cursory treatment, and is wedged into a story which only concerns the convert in a secondary sense. Hence our quarrel. We should have liked to know more about Ratcliffe, and to have traced his curious psychological history quite apart from the far less interesting Darcy and his troubles. Moreover, why, in the opening chapters, is it so impressed upon us that Honorius, Darcy's great-grandfather, is aged 102, when he would have been quite as useful to the story at ninety or less? And why, finally, call the book "Lady of the Night," when the French girl to whom the description is supposed to apply is, obviously, a lady of the early morning, of the Dawn?

H. J. NICOLL & CO., LTD.,
114-120, Regent Street, London, W.

NEW SPRING
MODELS

Our spring collection of tailor-made gowns and coats is now ready. All new models just produced in Paris, and the very latest creations, giving one a correct idea of the coming fashion.



PARIS MODEL GOWN.
Made in grey and white stripe material, white piqué slip with pearl buttons, plated metal buttons on coat and skirt. Can be copied in serges and fancy tweeds. Coat lined satin Merv. From **£8 8 0**

By return of post, in response to each request, a variety of patterns will be despatched with a full selection of illustrations. Carriage paid on all garments.

"SPECIALITE" RIDING HABITS.

Nicoll's Riding Habits, with patent Safety Footstrap. From **£5 15 6**
Are absolutely safe, and dragging is impossible. Exclusive Cloths for Indian and Colonial wear.
Ride Astride Habits From **£6 6 0**

H. J. NICOLL & CO., LTD.,
114-120, Regent Street, London, W
MANCHESTER, LIVERPOOL, & PARIS.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. ($2.25c.) and 4s. 4d. ($1.15c.) abroad, payable in advance.

The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

SUNENDURAH

Casement Curtain Fabrics

Buy "**Sunendurah**" Casement Cloth for Curtains and Dresses.

Absolutely Fadeless. Defies the Sun and the Laundry. Guaranteed Fast Colours. Excellent shades in Helio and Green.

Heavy weight, 31-in. **8¾d.**; 51-in. **1/2¾** per yd.
Light „ 31-in. **6¾d.**; 51-in. **11¾d.** per yd.

Call and see the goods in the piece, or write for patterns.

MARSHALL ROBERTS, Ltd.,
The Drapers. High St., Camden Town, London, N.W.

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THACKERAY HOTEL

Great Russell Street, London.

This large and well-appointed TEMPERANCE HOTEL has Passenger Lift, Electric Light throughout, Bathrooms on every floor, Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading and Smoking Rooms. Fireproof Floors. Perfect Sanitation. Telephone. Night Porter.

Bedroom, Attendance, and Table d'Hote Breakfast, Single from 5s., 6s. to 8s. Table d'Hote Dinner, Six Courses, 3s.

Full Tariff and Testimonials on Application.

Telegraphic Address: "Thackeray London."

SEND YOUR ORDERS AT ONCE FOR

VOL. V.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

NOW READY.

Handsomely bound in the Colours, price 10/6.
Post free in the United Kingdon, 11/6.

Orders, in every case accompanied by remittance, should be sent to the Publisher, "Votes for Women" Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The Publisher can also supply bound copies of Vols. II., III., and IV., at 10s. 6d. each.
Post free 11s. 6d. in the United Kingdom.

Telephone 822 Chiswick.

THE LAVENDER LAUNDRY

Strafford Road Acton, W.

We solicit the Custom of all who believe in supporting Women's labour, and who appreciate having their Linen washed in honest, wholesome fashion without the aid of chemicals.

Excellent Testimonials.
'Phone or write for Price List.
Our own Vans collect and deliver daily in London.
Special Department for Country orders.

THE SUFFRAGE CLUB,

3, YORK STREET, ST. JAMES' SQ., S.W.

The Club has been formed as a Social Club for

MEN AND WOMEN

interested in the Suffrage Movement.

CONSTANT LECTURES ARRANGED.

There are only a few vacancies remaining for Founder Members at £1 1s. subscription and no entrance fee.

Early Application Advisable.

The Board of Management have decided to reserve a few Bedrooms for Lady Members wishing to make a prolonged stay in the Club. Inclusive terms from 25s. weekly.

FURTHER PARTICULARS, SECRETARY.

Thursday, April 3, Meeting at 3.30 p.m. Speaker: Miss G. Binnie Clark. Chair: Miss Haig. Subject: "Women and Land in Canada."

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1913.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

When the historian of the future pursues his researches into the agitation of women for the vote, he will be confronted with the difficulty of understanding how it was that the present unhappy imbroglio was brought about. He will see a perfectly reasonable demand being put forward. He will see that it was supported by demonstrations larger and more numerous than had accompanied the demand for any other extension of the franchise. He will see that there were ample signs that the country as a whole wished that duly qualified women should become voters. He will see no sign of any substantial agitation either of men or women opposed to it. Yet he will see that the reform was delayed, and delayed until the most determined section of the Suffragist forces had come to the conclusion that nothing short of a deliberate war on the community would effect their purpose.

Should his eye chance to fall upon this article it may be that we shall be able to enlighten him. There are two salient facts which account for the situation. The first is the perverse obstinacy of the Government; the second the shameless misrepresentation of the Press. We do not propose to dwell here upon the former of these two causes, because we have dealt with it at length on former occasions, and because the historian will naturally acquaint himself with all the necessary facts concerning it in the course of his investigations. The latter cause is, however, in a different category, for unless it be deliberately dragged out into the light of day, it might very easily escape his detection.

With one or two honourable exceptions, the Press, for reasons of their own, have been from the first almost entirely hostile to the movement for the enfranchisement of women. And this hostility they have exhibited not merely by unfriendly comment which may be regarded as legitimate opposition, but by the illegitimate methods of suppression of news, fabrication of news, distortion of news, supplemented at various times by incitement to brutality.

In the early days, before the militant movement began, all mention of Woman Suffrage was suppressed. Then, when a few women dared to contravene the conventions and come out into the public eye, all kinds of outrageous statements were allowed to appear regarding them which were entire travesties of the truth. They were represented as ungainly hoydens or spectacled frumps, and every conceivable ill-mannered jest was made at their expense. The street hooligan, reinforced by the pale-faced clerk, saw at once the opportunity for a "bit of sport," and lost no time in turning up at the suffrage meetings to make a stupid noise and to assault the speakers in much the same way as they are doing at the present time.

After a time the women, by indomitable courage and shrewd mother wit, got the better of the hooligan element in the crowd, and as a result some of the largest and most remarkable public meetings ever known took place. The Press preserved almost complete silence. The Albert Hall might be filled to overflowing with a tense enthusiastic audience; Mr. Israel Zangwill might deliver an inimitable speech; not a single line would find its way into the columns of the daily Press, and the public were thereby invited to believe that the agitation for the vote had sunk into oblivion.

Again, at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, women, for some perfectly relevant and apt interjection, would be hurled with brutality into the street, and the sub-editor, with a liberal application of blue pencil, would convert their remarks into a senseless parrot cry of "Votes for Women," and dilate on their hysterical behaviour.

Or again, when women went out on a perfectly peaceful deputation to the House of Commons, and were confronted by a body of police, and treated with such violence that many of them were laid up for months, and one of them died in consequence, an entirely distorted view of the occurrence would appear in the daily papers, and the careful testimony of such a distinguished eye-witness as Mrs. Bertha Ayrton on the other side would be deliberately excluded.

Again, such important evidences of support as the numerous resolutions carried in nearly all the principal municipal bodies of the country in favour of the Conciliation Bill have been almost entirely kept from the public eye, while the tiniest meeting on the other side has been magnified into national importance.

"Such action," said a newspaper man once, in the course of a conversation, "we have done deliberately. Were we to give the true facts women would have the vote in less than six months."

It is in the light of these facts that the accounts recently given in the Press with regard to Suffrage meetings must be read. They are deliberately inserted for two reasons: firstly, to give the false impression that the public are opposed to the Suffragists; and secondly, to stir up the baser sort among the populace to go and do likewise. Those who throw clods of earth at Suffrage speakers are not responsible citizens, justly indignant with women for committing serious breaches of the law; they are a low type of hooligan who see in the courageous woman on the platform some new type of sentient being whom they hope to be able to torment with impunity. Their actions were prompted in the first instance by the Press, who published an "intelligent anticipation" of what they were likely to do; they are sustained and supported by the friendly accounts which the Press continue to give of their proceedings.

These methods of the Press (particularly its latest methods) have not done any harm to the Suffrage cause, viewed solely from the point of view of its successful issue; but they have driven it into channels which the sober and decent section of the community very heartily regret, and they have subjected to gross ill-treatment a number of the bravest and most public-spirited of the women of the country. Therefore, we say alike to the critic of to-day and to the historian of the future that, after the Government, we hold the Press responsible for the situation which confronts this country at the present time.

"FORCIBLE FEEDING—A DENIAL OF LIFE EVERLASTING"

Passages from a Speech Made by Mr. Bernard Shaw in the Kingsway Hall, on Tuesday, March 18

I want to point out that our protest is against forcible feeding—and not only the forcible feeding of women, because men are being forcibly fed in this cause. It is for that reason I am here to-night—to protest against these practices. I have not come to speak on behalf of the women. My reason for never having done so is that after a very careful study of public meetings held on the subject I came to the conclusion that the women were exceedingly well able to take care of themselves. I say this in order that you may understand that if this were merely a Suffragist meeting I should not be here. I do not come forward to-night in the sense of chivalrous man coming to the rescue of the weaker sex. I quite seriously think about forcible feeding that those suffering from it are for the most part the stronger sex. I quite seriously believe that women are hardier than men. A woman has to go through experiences in the quite ordinary course of life, in motherhood for instance, that I would like to see any man go through. Therefore do not understand me as appealing for special consideration for women. I do not believe women want to have this done. In fact, I believe the women who are most enthusiastic in this cause are infuriated more by that—by any affectation of magnanimity and protection from my sex—than by anything else in the world. I myself have the rather original view about woman that she is very much the same sort of person that I am myself, but unfortunately that view is one which does not seem to be very general in official circles. For instance, I believe that most men do recognise that their own insides are rather complicated machines, but when they have to deal with women they apparently believe that what they have to deal with is a sort of sack into which you can put food, that the mouth of this sack is a narrow orifice called the throat, and that once they can poke something into that orifice and squirt food through it they have done everything that can be expected in the way of feeding that person.

An Act of Extraordinary Violence

On this simple theory, the first thing you have got to do is to induce the person to open her mouth. That is not such an easy thing as you might imagine. If a person has got an unbroken set of teeth, and if those teeth are closed properly, then the first thing that occurs to uneducated or rough people is to take an instrument like a chisel and attempt to prise the teeth open. I want to impress on you that anyone who attempts to force a person's mouth open in that way has to perform an act of extraordinary violence, an act which may be impossible unless you actually break the teeth to begin with. That apparently is the way the thing is done at the present time in our prisons. Then, when you have got the mouth open, comes the idea I have mentioned to you, that you have only got to deal with a sort of empty sack. I can assure you, although I am not a professional medical man, that it is not so simple as that. There are two ways of getting inside a human being. One is by the larynx, or the trachea, by the tube which leads to the lungs, and which has a remarkable little musical box by the aid of which I am addressing you—sometimes it is not very musical. Along with that is another tube which goes down to the stomach. If you want to thoroughly appreciate how very important it is that you should take the right tube when getting food in, I have only to remind you that a short time ago all Europe was greatly shocked by the death of a prominent German politician who unfortunately dropped one of his own teeth—or rather a tooth purchased from a dentist—at any rate, the tooth went into the wrong tube, and the eminent gentleman died. I hope you all remember the particular instance. There you have got before the eyes of the Government and of Europe a striking illustration of the fact that a slight mistake in the way food may go down may result in the death of a person. Our wardresses perhaps ought not to be complained of because they are not educated anatomically, but if they are not educated anatomically they ought not to be set to perform anatomical operations. And pray, what are we to say to the medical gentlemen who superintend these operations? Really, it seems to me that either they are not properly educated, or else they are in such a temper that they forget their scientific education.

All this means torture. I wish further to make it thoroughly understood that I do not think we are superior to the Middle Ages in this matter. The Middle Ages had a good many defects, but they had a religion and they believed it. Accordingly, there were certain things they did not do and there were certain things they did do. In the Middle Ages they never referred any question direct to their own passions. They did not write letters to the papers half full of lies and half full of suggestions that women should be tortured, with a signature at the end which was not the signature of the man who wrote the letter. The Middle Ages really always did things—particularly when they did public things and legal things—with some sort of reference as to whether it was the sort of thing God would have done. Even when they did things which shock us it really was because it was part of their conception of what God in His hatred of sin might have done. I entirely absolve Mr. McKenna and the present Government from any such idea. The moral of the present situation is that our statesmen have never, it appears to me, dreamed of referring the question to the larger considerations by which the question should be determined. They think of nothing but the pettiest considerations, as if only their own tempers were concerned in the matter. They are faced with the heroic temper which produces martyrs and yet they go back to the fact that they are afraid of having their windows broken or that someone will jostle them. They can take no large view of the matter at all.

Not Sentenced to Torture

There is, however, a point which I think they might understand. I contend that this forcible feeding is illegal. I contend that when you are tried in a public court and sentenced to imprisonment you are sentenced to imprisonment and not to torture, except in so far as imprisonment may be torture, and I think imprisonment on the whole is too severe a torture to be inflicted on any human being. The public are apt to be careless about these things. They forget when a person goes into the hands of a prison governor that that person goes into a place the doors of which are shut. Nobody goes in to see whether the people inside the gaol are really confining themselves to their warrant. I contend it is the business of the Government, if it wants to break people's teeth in gaols and force food into the lungs and run the risk of killing them, to inflict what is unquestionably torture on them—it is the first business of the Government to bring in a Bill legalising these operations. If they are not ashamed to do it without the law, why should they be ashamed to do it with the law? The only explanation is that not only does their own conscience revolt from the torture, but they don't believe that public opinion would be on their side. They are not prepared to face the electorate with such a measure as that on their conscience.

The Conscience of the Community

Now, it seems to me that the Government really have discovered—if they would only have the intelligence to know what they have discovered—that the women have beaten them. It is not merely a question of the women inflicting humiliation on them and getting the better of them. What women have proved is that the conscience of the community is on their side. What they have proved is something more—that the conscience even of the very men who are doing this is on their side. You see their uneasiness and shame, the miserable excuses which are made for these practices—excuses which would not impose on an intelligent frog. When I last spoke on this subject you may remember Mrs. Leigh was in Mountjoy Prison under a sentence of several years for a very serious offence. Well, on that occasion I challenged the Government to let Mrs. Leigh starve. Did the Government face the challenge? No, they let Mrs. Leigh out straight away. After that, what is there to be said? What is the use of going on with this miserable, wanton savagery, when they dare not go through with the sentence? Why don't they get hold of Mrs. Pankhurst and put her in prison and say that a woman who refuses food is a lunatic and put her in a lunatic asylum? There is only one objection to what may appear a logical course. It is that they know and the whole country knows that Mrs. Pankhurst is not a mad woman.

I endorse everything Mr. Forbes-Robertson has said to-night about the damage to the character of the doctors and wardresses, but I don't believe these peoples' characters are half as much degraded as the characters of the people who are reading the articles now published in the newspapers. It is degrading the whole social tone of our life to read the miserable speeches in which Ministers endeavour to defend the sort of thing that is going on. Let me offer a challenge to Mr. McKenna. He still occasionally tries to make out that forcible feeding is rather a pleasant thing. If it is, it is perfectly easy for him to prove it. Will he allow us to forcibly feed him? We will do it with his favourite food. He need not resist. We will get the most skilful surgeon and make it as nice as possible. I want to find out whether under these charming conditions he will do it. I venture to think he will not accept the challenge.

"Members One of Another"

On the general Suffrage question I have never had any particular doubt in the matter. I am not altogether what is called an orthodox man, because there is a great deal in almost all the established religions in the world which I think it is time to get rid of. But there are many things in the Church Catechism and other documents which are very valuable. I have always believed in the old, simple statement that we are members one of another. I think probably at Westminster most gentlemen believe that "We are members one of another" refers to Members of Parliament only. I don't think they can see the full sense of it. There is an old sentence which if they have got in their minds they have never quite understood. It runs, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren ye have done it unto Me." I don't think they quite understand that brethren includes sisters as well. I think, also, all of us are apt to make a little mistake. Nowadays people are always talking of their duty to others. I don't care about my duty to others. I understand by the saying, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren ye have done it unto Me," as the final identification of the least of these with me. If you take a woman and torture her you torture me. If you take Mrs. Pankhurst's daughter and torture her you are torturing my daughter. If you take Miss Pankhurst's mother and torture her you are torturing my mother. I go further and say that if you torture my mother you are torturing me. I tell you these denials of fundamental rights are really a violation of the soul. They are an attack on that sacred part of life common to all of us of which you speak when you talk of the life everlasting. I say with the most absolute sense, not of anything mystical but the most ordinary common sense, that the denial of these fundamental rights to ourselves in the person of women is practically a denial of the life everlasting.

◆

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

The Fellowship continues to "put a girdle round about the earth." One Fellow writes from Roumania to say that she has won an anti-Suffragist reader for VOTES FOR WOMEN, who calls it "a most educating paper." Another writes from Yorkshire that "a very deeply felt conviction is often hard to express, and I have frequently been impatient of my own incoherence when discussing Woman Suffrage with those hostile to the Cause. The lucid articles in VOTES FOR WOMEN have largely helped me to overcome this incoherence." A third is working splendidly to paint Belfast purple, white and green with the weekly posters. These are just a few of the evidences of activity among members of the Fellowship, scattered in different parts of the world. They serve to show something of its scope, its possibilities, and its influence, something, too, of the meaning of the Cause that lies behind it, and of the comradeship of those who are giving their lives to that Cause.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To March 24, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	184	5	3
Per Miss Ruth Hancock	0	8	6
Mrs. Hill	0	2	0
Miss E. Hutchings	0	2	6
Miss S. E. Hall	0	2	6
Miss M. S. Murray	0	2	2
The Misses Snartz	0	2	0
Miss Hughes	0	2	6
Miss H. S. Lewis	0	2	0
Miss E. Green	0	2	6
Miss A. Barwell	1	1	0
Miss H. Turnbull	0	2	6
Miss M. Wood	0	5	0
H. Wallace Burne, Esq.	0	2	6
Mrs. Bullock Workman	2	0	0
Mrs. Moss	0	2	6
Total	189	5	5

GREAT PROTEST MEETING AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

"A Torture of the Middle Ages."—"A Great Immorality."—"The Government in a Cleft Stick."

On Tuesday, March 18, after we went to press, a great demonstration was held, under the auspices of the National Political League, in the Kingsway Hall, London, to protest against the practice of forcible feeding in our prisons. The Church, and the Stage, Literature and Medicine, were all represented on the platform; and the speeches that were made will not be easily forgotten by those who heard them. A striking feature of the meeting was the intense feeling shown by the audience. Large numbers of men as well as women were present, and the indignation expressed was universal and unanimous, and reached its height when the irony and force and eloquence of the first three speakers culminated in the damning facts adduced by Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., who gave the details of actual cases which had come under his notice. The resolution, against which not a single hand was held up, was as follows:—

That this meeting desires to express its strong disapproval of the cruel and degrading method of forcible feeding as at present practised in His Majesty's English prisons, and demands that the Government and the House of Commons shall put an immediate end to this barbarous custom. Further, it calls upon the Government to prevent the existing disorder in the only possible way by enfranchising the women of the country, and so removing the grievance which is a cause of the present discontent.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN

The Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Hicks), who took the chair, opened the proceedings by reading a few selections from a mass of letters in sympathy with the meeting, which had been received from all over the country. Professor Schäfer wrote:—"I know that when violently resisted, the operation involves exquisite torture, and is liable to be a danger to life." Mr. W. de Morgan said in the course of a letter: "Nothing can justify a system which confers upon the gaoler powers over the person of his prisoners over and above what is necessary for the execution of the sentence. The cruelties inflicted upon the hunger-strikers are in no sense necessary to their detention in prison." Lady Betty Balfour wrote: "I think it unjustifiable because of the immediate torture it inflicts and the subsequent danger to health. I think it also inexpedient, because it has never succeeded in keeping a suffragist in prison to the end of her sentence." Letters were also received from Lady Brassey, Mrs. Fawcett, Mr. Laurence Housman, Sir Victor Horsley and many others.

The Bishop of Lincoln having moved the resolution given above, then proceeded to say that they were not met to serve any political party—their cause was far above and beyond any such plea.

"Neither to Justify nor to Condemn"

They were met neither to justify nor to condemn militancy. He regarded the women's suffrage movement as one of the greatest demonstrations of moral as against brute force, and woman could hardly boast that she was stronger than man in brute force, and for his part he was sorry that women should have gone down to the arena of brute force and challenged men on that ground. He was the servant of One who taught him that they who took the sword shall perish by the sword. Neither were they met to suggest to the Government what was the best form of punishment or treatment of prisoners who refused to take their food, but to show their belief that the Government had really reached a deadlock in their present method of treating suffragist prisoners. The Government did not know what to do, and therefore the best thing was for them to drop it.

The Press Boycott

He complained that it had been very difficult for supporters of women's suffrage to get the ear of the nation, because to a large extent the Press had refused to be the vehicle of their thoughts and words.

He regarded this form of punishment as cruel and dangerous. The facts of the case amply proved that it was cruel, and it was dangerous because of the extreme violence that had to be exerted in order to compel the victims to undergo the torture. That violence was in itself a danger to health and life. In some, if not in many, instances this difficult operation had not been handled by entirely expert or careful persons. They knew it was dangerous, because again and again persons sent to prison had been suddenly released simply because the punishment was endangering their health and their life.

"The Government has Broken Down"

They wanted the Government to confess that it had broken down and to find a way out. If this method had proved in so many cases to be cruel, disgusting, and dangerous to health and life, then in the name of common sense let the Government go a little further and drop the method altogether. John Bright laid down the great principle, which Englishmen had been so slow to learn, that force was no remedy, and least of all was it a remedy for social and moral agitation. He remembered the time of the Irish outrages and the time when the present Prime Minister defended the action of the Government in the House in keeping the dynamiters in prison, but one of the first things which the Conservative Government that followed did was to let the dynamiters free. The only right and lasting remedy, and one which he might declare to be in entire harmony with the politics of the present Cabinet, was the Liberal remedy—more freedom and the removing of disorder by remedying grievances.

MR. FORBES-ROBERTSON

Mr. Forbes-Robertson received a great ovation. He seconded the resolution, saying that had he personally drawn up that resolution he feared it would have been in very violent language. He felt so strongly about that question and the whole principle involved that he hardly dared to trust himself to address them on the subject. They read of the tortures of the Middle Ages, and when ordinary intelligent persons read those shocking facts of the past, which were indeed carried on as late as the eighteenth century, they were unable to conceive the state of the minds of the men who condemned a human being to torture. Now, suddenly, in this intelligent century, they found that actual torture was in our midst, and was going on at this very moment. Great doctors had told them about the dangers of forcible feeding. The eventual result of those operations, however, would, he contended, prove perfectly inadequate to attain the object aimed at.

A Demoralising Practice

Continuing, Mr. Forbes-Robertson said that an American citizen remarked to him recently that the American people would not suffer any Government to treat their women in such a manner, and he was certain that the chivalry of the American people would never suffer such a thing to happen. The practice of forcible feeding was demoralising the *morale* of the doctor and the wardresses in the cell, and it was also eventually sending out of that prison a human being shaken to the very soul with bitterness. The question of forcible feeding was hideous enough, but the whole principle and method were bad. The present methods and arrangements were wrong. Improvements had been brought into the prison system which were due entirely to suffragists. Lord Gladstone two or three years ago in the House of Commons was challenged about this forcible feeding, and he said that the women received no more punishment than was administered to other prisoners who refused to eat. He (the speaker) would, however, very much like to know the number of male prisoners who had been forcibly fed in consequence of refusal to eat.

"The Government in a Cleft Stick"

In conclusion, Mr. Forbes-Robertson said: "This has got to cease. It is a disgrace to our country. We are becoming the laughing stock of the world. But it would seem to me that these long-sufferers have got the Government in a cleft stick."

MR. BERNARD SHAW

Mr. Bernard Shaw supported the resolution in a strong speech, which we give in full on page 367. He aroused great feeling in the audience by his speech, in which he asserted very finely that the denial of fundamental rights, as shown in the treatment of Suffragist speakers, was a violation of the soul and a denial of the life everlasting. His speech was at once witty, slashing, and very moving.

MISS M. A. BROADHURST

"Will Not Yield to Coercion"

Miss M. A. Broadhurst said that a few days ago she was speaking to a member of the House of Commons and trying to make him understand what women felt, and that unless something was done there would be very grave consequences among both militants and non-militants. His reply was: "Do you know that it is in the very blood of Englishmen not to yield to coercion?" Women, however, had the same blood as men, but they were supposed to yield to coercion. She had that day seen a letter written by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst to her mother, in which occurred the words: "I am fighting, fighting, fighting. I have five or six wardresses every day in my cell besides the two doctors. I am fed by a stomach pump, and resist all the time. I used to feel at first I should go mad, but I have got over that."

"A Great Immorality"

That was what women had to endure as the result of men's coercion. Where they had a fighting spirit such as that, they would never get any yielding to a coercive policy. Coercion had never yet succeeded, and it would and could not succeed in these instances. From beginning to end the methods had been not only a great blunder, but a great immorality. Straightforward opposition could have been faced, and if there had been only straightforward opposition there would have been no militancy.

MR. MANSELL-MOULLIN

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., who also supported the resolution, spoke with all the authority of one who is not only a specialist in throat surgery, but has also attended a large number of the women who have been released from prison after being forcibly fed. Our readers will remember that he was one of the three signatories to the report on forcible feeding which appeared in the medical papers last August, and that a letter signed by the same three physicians on the same subject was printed in our columns last week.

Mr. Mansell-Moullin began his speech by saying that last summer there were 102 suffragists in prison, and 90 were being forcibly fed. All sorts of reports were being spread about what was being done to them. A committee of three was formed, of which he (the speaker) was one, and it was determined to investigate the cases. That was done, and a report was published in the medical papers, and that report had been confirmed and justified by what had happened since.

"No Possible Comparison"

Dealing with the repeated assertions of doctors, to which publicity was given in the Press, to the effect that hundreds of cases were so treated in the asylums without danger to the patients, the speaker declared amid loud applause that there was no possible comparison between what was known as artificial feeding in lunatic asylums and forcible feeding in His Majesty's prisons. They were as wide apart as the poles.

The conditions in the case of lunatics were entirely different from those of the suffragists. The lunatics were often in a comatose condition, and they were lunatics. And in the one case the object was to feed in the most convenient way, whilst in the other case the object was to break down the will of the patient—to bend or break them—an object which would never be effected. Many of the statements which emanated from the Government officials on this matter were untrue, and he did not exonerate Mr. McKenna from responsibility in making them. Time after time he had said there was no pain or danger or injury in this matter, and in the same breath he had said that a prisoner had had to be released to save her life. One or other of these statements must be untrue. He pointed out that the forcible feeding was not carried out under the precautions which were taken in the case of ordinary surgical operations.

Here the speaker gave some telling facts about the results of forcible feeding upon Suffragist prisoners who had come under his personal observation. He was repeatedly interrupted as he did so by loud expressions of indignation from the men and women in the audience. Proceeding, he said that in the case of Miss Lenton she fortunately appeared to be recovering from the septic pneumonia from which she had suffered, and for this fact the Home Secretary might consider himself lucky. He did not believe the public had ever realised the horrors that were carried on wherever forcible feeding was practised in our prisons.

WHAT THE PRESS SAID

THE PASSIONATE HAZE OF LOGIC

The only idea of the speakers was that forcible feeding should be avoided by conceding votes to women without delay. Could anything be more significant of the hazy, passionate conception of government formed by these people?—**Evening Standard.**

OUR SELF-RIGHTEOUS PRESS

Dr. Hicks actually thinks it necessary to apologise for not being in favour of arson and bombs and hatchet-throwing and window-breaking and letter-destroying—though, even so, he does not go so far as to condemn any of these things. Being a Christian Bishop, he merely asks as a favour that he shall be allowed to regret, in a Pickwickian sort of way, the resort to crime. We take leave to say that Dr. Hicks's attitude will help neither the movement he supports nor the Church to which he belongs.—**Westminster Gazette.**

It might be imagined that a Christian prelate would either keep silence or speak words of solemn reprobation concerning such a movement. . . . If the words had been used by a fiery young curate fresh from college, we could leave him with confidence in the hands of his diocesan. But when a Bishop is guilty of such an indiscretion the only appeal is to public opinion, which, we imagine, will not be slow to condemn a public utterance so entirely mischievous in its tendency.—**Standard.**

TWO OPPOSITE VIEWS OF HOME OFFICE METHODS

Mr. McKenna's device is not even possible in the light of his own speech. He insists that these women are fanatics; that they are ready to die. At the same time he suggests it will meet the case if Parliament allows him to let them out as ticket-of-leave women upon undertakings of good behaviour. Obviously, if he lets them out at all, he will have to do so without undertakings of any kind. How is he to get undertakings from women who on his own showing actually want to die in prison?—**Saturday Review.**

In our opinion Mr. McKenna has carried through a very difficult task with good sense, humanity, and firmness. — **The Spectator.**

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN AMERICA.

"Alaska Enfranchises Women. Unanimous Vote."— Alice Stone Blackwell.

(Special Cable to "Votes for Women.")

The above cablegram, which reached the office of VOTES FOR WOMEN on Thursday in last week, proclaims another victory for the Suffragists in America. Failing further particulars, we conclude that the Alaska Legislature has passed the Woman Suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution by a unanimous vote, and that the question will now be submitted to a Referendum of the voters. This is the procedure in all the States of the American Union, the only variation being that in some of the States, as in New York and Nevada, the amendment has to pass the legislature twice, at successive sessions, and in others, as in Michigan and Montana, only once before its final submission to the Referendum. In New York State, again, when voted upon in the Referendum, the amendment need only receive a majority of the votes cast upon that question alone. In some of the other States it would have to receive a majority not only of the votes cast upon the question, but of all the votes cast at the election, which constitutes an almost insuperable barrier to enfranchisement, as in most States the majority of men who vote for the election of the Governor do not trouble about voting for a constitutional amendment. This difficulty can, however, be got over by a submission of the question to the electors at a special election when there are no officers to be voted for.

Recent Victories

More than twenty States in the last nine weeks or so have won Suffrage victories in the State Legislature, either for the first or second time. The following table, for which we are indebted to the *Woman's Journal*, gives a clear idea of the present Suffrage Status in America.

Free States

Where Women are Enfranchised

Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona.

States where Amendment is Now Before Voters

State.	Will be submitted to Referendum.
Michigan	April 7, 1913.
Montana	1914.
Nevada	1913 or 1914.
North Dakota	1914.
South Dakota	1914.

States where Amendment has Passed One Legislature and Must Pass Another

State.	Will be submitted again to Legislature.
Iowa	1916
New Jersey	1914.
New York	1913.

In addition to these, Maine, Missouri, and Pennsylvania have taken favourable but not final action, and the amendment goes before the voters again in those States in 1913, 1914 and 1915 respectively.

THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 "
Mrs. Maud Brindley	" "	5 "
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	" "	3 "
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	" "	3 "
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 "
*†Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	6 " " "
Miss Jane Shortt	" "	6 " " "
†Anonymous	Mar. 4	2 months
†Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 "
†Miss Olive Wharry	Mar. 7	18 "
Miss Dorothy Barnes	Mar. 11	1 month
Miss Kathleen Paget	" "	3 weeks
Miss May Richardson	" "	1 month
Miss Dorothy Smith	" "	3 weeks
Miss Grace Stuart	" "	1 month
Miss Gertrude Vaughan	" "	3 weeks
Mrs. Dove-Wilcox	" "	1 month
†Miss Marjorie Masters	Mar. 15	1 month
Miss Kathleen Nicholson	Mar. 17	14 days
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 months

At Manchester

Mrs. Edith Rigby	Mar. 25	7 days

In Pentonville Prison

*Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

†Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

* Hard labour afterwards remitted. † Being forcibly fed.

TO "2411"

"I can hear Miss —— singing like a bird in her cell."—*Extract from a letter from Holloway.*

High on the hills I sing and run
For gladness of the wind and sun.
Yet, though my body's strong and brave,
I know my soul is still a slave.

Within your prison cell they've heard
The prisoner "singing like a bird."
Your spirit gained its liberty—
I am the captive—you are free.

S. B.

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, March 20.—House belonging to Lady White, widow of Sir George White, V.C., burnt at Egham, Surrey; house unoccupied at the time; damage estimated at £3,000. Fire attributed to Suffragists, as papers bearing suffrage messages found in rockeries. No arrests.

Professionals' workshop and tool-house at the golf links, Weston-super-Mare, destroyed by fire.

Saturday, March 22.—Letters damaged by black fluid in letter-box at Wellington College.

Sunday, March 23.—Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., persistently interrupted at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester; several forcible ejections, absolute confusion for about a quarter of an hour.

Monday, March 24.—Delegates at Independent Labour Party Conference locked into the Association Hall, Manchester, by means of padlock and chain; chain had to be sawn through. Suffragists gathered outside Hall and tried to address delegates as they came out. Missiles said to have been thrown at Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P. Two women arrested for obstruction.

Attempt to burn partially built house at Park Langley Garden City, near Beckenham. Attributed to Suffragists, as literature, including copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, *The Awakener*, and *The Suffragette* found in the house.

Considerable damage to greens at Royal St. George's Golf Links, Sandwich.

Galleries and State apartments closed at Hampton Court; the first time for many years on an Easter Monday. Special staff of detectives said to be guarding Windsor.

Tuesday, March 25.—Tubes of phosphorus put in letter-boxes at Richmond Railway Station and on Richmond Hill; a great number of letters destroyed. Letters also damaged at Lincoln.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 20.—At the West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, charged with conspiring with other persons unknown to set fire to the Roehampton Pavilion, and with damaging letters in letter-box at Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill, Miss Olive Hocken, surrendered to bail; case adjourned, bail allowed.

At the London Sessions, charged with breaking two windows at the Tecla Gem Company, Ltd., Old Bond Street, Miss Margaret Macfarlane; sentenced to five months in the second division.

Saturday, March 22.—At the Stratford Police Court, charged with affixing a notice to a Post Office letter-box without authority, Miss Ethel Haslam; fined 20s. and 4s. costs, or 14 days' imprisonment. Payment of fine at first refused, but subsequently paid.

Tuesday, March 25.—At the City Police Court, Manchester, charged with obstruction and with throwing a bottle to the danger of the public, Mrs. Edith Rigby; fined 5s. or seven days' imprisonment. Fine not paid.

Charged with obstruction, Miss Helen Atkinson; fined 2s. 6d. or five days. Fine paid.

"ARSENAL" CASE IN COURT

At West London Police Court on Thursday, March 20, before Mr. Fordham, Miss Olive Hocken, an artist, surrendered to her bail to answer the charge of conspiring with other persons unknown to set fire to a pavilion on the golf links at Roehampton on February 26.

Mr. Bodkin, prosecuting, stated that the defendant would be charged also under the Post Office Protection Act, 1908, with damaging a number of letters in the letter-box at Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill.

Dealing with the second charge against the accused, Mr. Bodkin stated that on March 12 she was seen by a police-officer to ride a bicycle along the High Street, Notting Hill, and turn into Ladbroke Road, where the pillar-box stood. When the officer got up to the letter-box he saw some fluid trickling out of the bottom.

Cross-examined by Mr. Marshall, the witness acknowledged that he knew several ladies connected with the Suffragist movement, but he had not seen the accused before. As far as he knew she had not been identified with militant action.

Mr. Marshall: Do you know that on February 26 she was at her mother's house?—Inquiries were made there, but all information was refused.

At this stage the magistrate adjourned the case, admitting the accused to the same bail as before on her renewing the undertaking she gave at the last hearing.

RELEASES

Miss Casey, who was sentenced on March 17 to two months' imprisonment, was released on March 18, her fine having been paid anonymously. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was released last Friday, March 21, in consequence of ill-health after being forcibly fed. Miss Kathleen Nicholson will come out of prison to-morrow (Saturday). Miss Kathleen Paget, Miss Dorothy Smith, and Miss Gertrude Vaughan's sentences expire on Monday next.

We are glad to hear that Mrs. Purser, who was released from Tullamore Prison on March 17, twelve days before the expiry of her sentence, has recovered from the effects of her hunger strike in February.

Miss Pankhurst's Terrible Experiences

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in a written statement, gives a terrible account of her treatment in prison. When six women, she says, "had got me on the bed, holding me by the ankles, knees, and shoulders, the doctors came stealing in. They hadn't the courage to show themselves until I was securely held. Somebody caught me by the head from behind and tied a sheet under my chin. I set my teeth like a vice, and my breath came so quickly that I thought I should suffocate. I felt a man's hand trying to force my mouth open. I felt a steel instrument being forced against my gums, where I had had two teeth out. I fought against it with all my strength, but cutting its way into the flesh, it worked its way in, and then they turned a screw, which gradually forced my jaws apart. It felt as though I were having my teeth drawn.

"They then started to force the tube down my throat. I tightened the muscles and struggled with all my might. Presently they said 'That's all,' and dragged out the tube. It was quite a long time before I could get my breath. They left me on the bed exhausted and shaking with sobs. The same thing happened in the evening, but I was too tired to fight so long. So it went on day after day.

"I think it was after about two days of forcible feeding that the Governor came into my cell and said, 'You are reported for misconduct. You are charged with refusing all food.' I said, 'I do not consider that misconduct, and I shall continue in the same way.' He said, 'You admit it. Three days' solitary confinement, with deprival of the privileges of Rule 243A.' Three times he came and ordered a continuation of the same punishment. It seemed a farce, when he was only ordering what I had had from the first.

"All the time I was in prison I had scarcely slept at night. My eyes had begun to give trouble. When struggling and straining against the feeding I had acute pain, and felt as if the cords that held my eyes in must snap."

COBDEN'S DAUGHTER AND MILITANCY

The following letter appeared in the *Daily News* last Friday:—

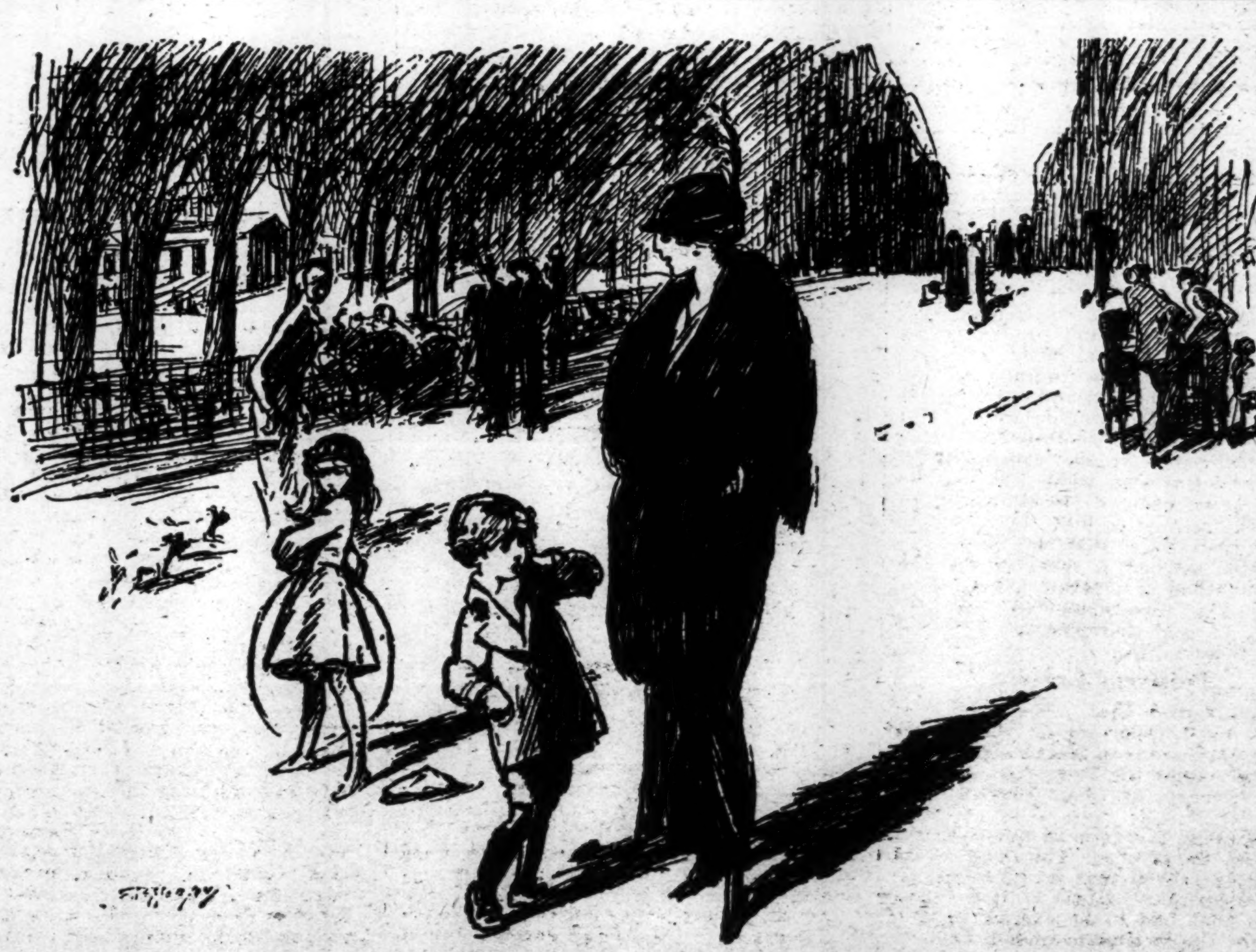
Sir,—You say: "The peril is from outside. It is the attitude of the mob which creates concern. The adoption of methods of violence by the women lets loose the lowest instincts of ruffianism." So do other causes and events let them loose. How about Mafeking night? How about the night that peace was proclaimed and the Boer war ended? It was not safe for women to go down the Strand; friends of mine, venturing, had their clothes torn from their backs before they were rescued by the police. Then, why not grapple with the real "peril"? Is it because we are so used to the knowledge that those "lowest instincts of ruffianism" are rife in our outskirts that we are content to put up with their manifestations—so easily, moreover, avoided by ourselves?

The want of perspective in the views taken of life by the man in the street is amazing. In a world where people are being killed in war and dying of its attendant starvation and disease, where the economic results of underpaid labour are hideous, where "the lowest instincts of ruffianism" animate masses of our countrymen, it seems to me—a looker-on—preposterous to be making a mountain out of the mole-hill of broken windows and burnt kiosks. And to think that the whole question might be set at rest sooner instead of, as it will be, later.

ELLEN MELICENT COBDEN.

ONE OR THE OTHER!

A distressed curator was recently showing a party of people round a museum. "You see," he was explaining, "I have to go round with you now on account of the suffragettes. Beastly nuisance, I call it. What I say is, *either* send 'em all to Timbuctoo, *or* give 'em the vote. I don't care which." Will not the Cabinet take the hint?



ANOTHER MILITANT

MOTHER: "So you tried to take her hoop away and she boxed your ears? Well, it served you quite right!"
BOBBY: "Oh, Mummy, Mummy, you see I didn't know she was a Suffragette!"

—Reproduced by the special permission of the proprietors of "Punch."

ATTACK ON THE HOME SECRETARY

The Debate in the House of Commons, March 18

The debate on the prison treatment of Suffragists, arising out of the discussion on the Home Office Vote, was still in progress when we went to press last week, and we were able, therefore, to give only a portion of it. We think it may interest our readers if we give herewith some more passages from the most striking of the speeches made on that occasion, and also a selection from the many Press comments that appeared on the following and subsequent days.

POINTS FROM THE SPEECHES

MR. KEIR HARDIE

The other proposition was that of the hon. baronet (Sir A. Markham), who, indeed, put forward two propositions, one of which was to try transportation to a desert island, and the other was to let the women die who would not take food. He forgets that in the case of men fighting for the franchise, scarcely a hundred years ago yet, that transportation was tried, and only added to the strength of the movement. . . . Their (the women's) argument is perfectly logical and consistent. (Hon. Members: "No, no!") They say that they have no voice in the making of the laws, and that this House refuses to give them any voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That is their argument, and you may amend the law as much as you please in the direction indicated by the Home Secretary, but it is not going to help you in the slightest degree to remove the difficulty which has been created. . . . .

Someone says that it is their own fault. Of course it is. The men who went to prison when fighting for the rights of Ireland—it was their own fault; and Ireland to-day is getting the advantage. The men who, in the past, fought for the rights of the working classes of this country—it was their own fault; they took the risk, and we to-day are benefiting. All I ask this House and the country to recognise is that when women get to the point that their health is being permanently endangered by forcible feeding, it becomes incumbent on the Home Office to liberate them. I repeat that the House of Commons and the law may do as they please; there is only one way of ending the strife, and that is by the House conferring the vote upon women.

SIR F. BANBURY

I believe that if these people had known that the refusal to take food would end in their own death, it would have deterred them. That is, always provided that it was known that the penalty would be carried out. If, by a great misfortune, one woman was to die, there would be no more.

MR. MacCALLUM SCOTT:

But is it right or fair, is it reasonable, to describe this operation as torture? (Hon. Members: "No.") Let us take any medical operation whatever, such as the amputation of a limb or an operation for some disease of the stomach. I could go over that in pathological terms. . . . In its nature that operation is far more painful than the operation of forcible feeding, but is it torture?

Lord Robert Cecil: It would be if it were done penally.

MR. WALTER ROCH:

The Home Secretary has stated that there is an objection on the part of these women to being medically examined. I think if these women wish to be examined by a woman doctor that alternative should be put before them, and that might do away with some of their objections to a medical examination. . . . I agree that you have to deal with fanatics. The Noble Lord opposite spoke disparagingly about that fact. May I point out that we owe all the religion we possess to fanatics, and we also owe many of our reforms to fanatics. And you have to remember in dealing with fanatics two other points. First of all I do not think you can say that in all the harsh judgment passed upon these women that either party in this House has got clean hands. Reference has been made to passive resistance as being morally justifiable and a right policy to adopt. On the other hand, you have the great party opposite pledged to violent resistance in the case of Ulster, and with these two records of two great parties, you have no right to go to these women and say, "We will deal harshly with you; you are bad politicians; you are serving your cause badly, and the law will visit you with heavy penalties." . . . I wish to make one further appeal to the Home Secretary. I regret that he has resorted to forcible feeding, and I regret that he has not said that he will discontinue it. I will make one suggestion which I think he can adopt. I agree that if these women are sentenced, the sentence must be carried out, or the law will get into disrepute. I think the Home Secretary might devise a plan for the term that the women are sentenced under which they might be subjected to a stringent form of police supervision which would be fairly irksome and prevent them going to meetings, and prevent them proceeding with their ordinary avocation. That would be something similar to prison treatment. I think that would be absolutely justifiable, and would put an end to the difficulty.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH

The Suggested Remedy Explained

It has been said with regard to the suggestion of my right hon. friend (the Home Secretary) that it will not answer the purpose. The junior member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Keir Hardie) mistook our purpose. He said it will not cure the movement. We do not say it will. The object of punishment is to deter. I am not very sanguine that in these cases any kind of punishment will cure the movement or stop the movement; all that we as a Department responsible for administration have to do is to see that the prisoners shall serve the sentence given to them.

PRESS CRITICISMS

THE PLAIN FACT

The fomenters of this movement flout the law; there is hardly one of them who has not escaped an imprisonment prescribed by the Courts. Mr. McKenna, as we wrote two days ago, has once more displayed his "talent for failure"; the rest of the Cabinet are silent. If the miserable farce ends in tragedy the Government will alone be to blame.—**Globe.**

A FALLACY EXPOSED

The hunger-strike is so severe a punishment that only a few even among the fanatics will voluntarily inflict it upon themselves, and the idea that the suffragists have discovered an easy way in which crime may escape punishment is grotesque. No mere criminal will face its tortures, but only those whose minds are afflicted by an ideal, though it be an ideal in disease, and even of those only a handful. We have therefore not to deal with a general danger that threatens society and the execution of justice, but only with a strictly limited class of special cases.—**Manchester Guardian.**

SO HELPFUL!

Lord Robert Cecil said yesterday that the Government ought to resign if they could not suppress the outrages of the militant suffragists. But the only suggestion he could make for the solution of the problem was that the militant women should be sent into exile. It reminds one of his father's memorable cure for Ireland—that it should be submerged in the Atlantic.—**Daily News.**

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES COMING HOME TO ROOST

We have always thought it a deplorable thing to use violent means of reaching a constitutional end; but we are bound to say that there is something almost comical in the way these Liberal Mother Carey's chickens are now coming to the Home Office to roost.—**Morning Post.**

WHERE IS IT, THEN?

Finally, there is Mr. Keir Hardie, whose sole recipe is "Give the women the vote." We agree in wishing them to have it, but that is neither here nor there.—**Daily Chronicle.**

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Monday, March 24

Mr. Touche asked the Home Secretary by what authority prison officials direct forcible feeding in the case of a prisoner under remand.

Mr. McKenna: The duty which is imposed by law on prison officials to use all reasonable means of keeping a prisoner alive applies to prisoners on remand as well as to others.

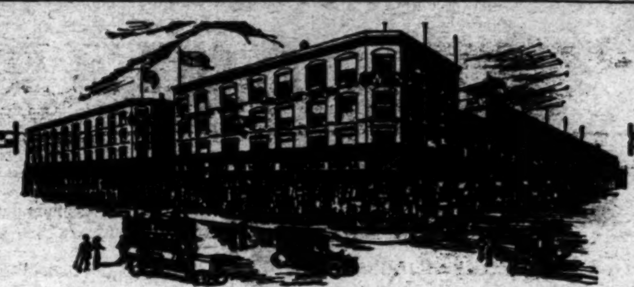
Tuesday, March 25

Mr. Frederick Whyte asked whether any women imprisoned for offences committed in the course of the Women Suffrage agitation have been artificially fed in any Scottish prison?

Mr McKinnon Wood: The answer is in the negative.

Wednesday, March 26

In answer to a question by Sir A. Markham, Mr. McKenna said: The total number received into prison during 1912 under sentence for offences in connection with the Suffragist agitation was 240; the number released before expiration of sentence was 84; the number forcibly fed, so far as can be ascertained, was 57; of the 84 who were released before expiration of sentences, 26 starved themselves, and were released because the medical officer reported that they had heart disease or other senile illness, and that forcible feeding was inadvisable; 23 starved themselves, and after being forcibly fed for some time were released on medical grounds; 12 were released in mitigation of severe sentences of which they had served the greater part; and 8 were released on an undertaking not to offend again. The remaining 13 were released on grounds common to other classes of prisoners, for instance, 6 were released on medical grounds not arising from any misconduct, and two or three because the prisoner's father or mother was in a dying condition.



Telephone: PADD. 3600. Connecting all Departments.

Telegrams: "OWEN, Westbourne Grove."

WILLIAM OWEN

The House Famous for Good Value.

WILLIAM OWEN has during the past 40 years established a reputation for selling **High-class and Fashionable Goods at Extremely Low Prices.**

¶ A visit of inspection and comparison is invited. **New Goods are now being shown in all Departments.**

¶ Mr. William Owen commenced business on February 13th, 1873, in one shop with two assistants. Over **60,000 square feet of floor space** is now covered, and over 700 assistants employed.

WESTBOURNE GROVE, LONDON, W.

Daily Motor Deliveries to within about 30 miles of Westbourne Grove.

THE HOUSE FAMOUS FOR GOOD VALUE

Hot & Cold Luncheons Tea. Music in Restaurant, 3.45 to 5.45.

WILLIAM OWEN LD.

TEACHERS IN CONFERENCE

The teachers have also been in conference during the Easter Holiday. The question of the status of women came up at Tuesday's session, when Miss Dawson (East Lambeth) moved an amendment to the resolution that urged the adoption of a standard scale of salaries. The effect of her amendment was to demand that the salaries of men and women should be equal. A hot debate followed, not altogether to the credit of those who conducted it with jeers and showed a general disinclination to take the subject seriously; but Miss Dawson and her supporters made a hard fight for the amendment, and although it was declared lost by a large majority, some valuable speeches were made in its favour.

Miss Dawson said she wanted to see the status of the woman teacher raised, and said that it was time that the National Union of Teachers took its courage in both hands and went forward with a real reform. They were told that men were paid more than women because they had so many more dependants. The inference was that women had none (cries of dissent), but she instanced the cases of different women who had dependants. The expenses of men and women were the same.

Miss Byatt, of Birmingham, in seconding the amendment, said that the reason why men were being driven out of the profession was that there had been such an unlimited supply of female cheap labour. The status of women was low, and they were not recognised as citizens.

Mr. Cooke (North-West London) said that if the amendment was carried out it would cost millions of money which could not be got. Had there been no suffrage question, so common just now, they would not have had the present question brought up by Miss Dawson. (Cheers and dissent.)

LORD HALDANE AND THE TEACHERS

During Lord Haldane's speech at the Tuesday afternoon session, he was considerably interrupted by militant Suffragists, all of whom were delegates. Later in the afternoon Lord Haldane received a deputation of women teachers introduced by Sir James Yoxall.

What Is a Cohesion of Idea?

Lord Haldane, replying, expressed his keen and long-standing sympathy with women's franchise, and said that when a cohesion of idea prevailing between the advocates inside and outside the House had been secured, a Bill would not be long delayed. Militancy at the outset had been a good advertisement for the cause, but its advocates would not desist, and that caused the delay. Given coherent views for a Bill, it was only a question of time.

MR. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., AND THE SUFFRAGETTES

The I.L.P. Conference was preceded by a meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Sunday evening, at which Mr. Keir Hardie was subjected to a good deal of interruption from militant Suffragists.

Mr. Hardie's Criticism of Militancy

In answer to the written question:—"Our women are dying; what are the Labour Party going to do?" Mr. Hardie replied: "I and other members of the Labour Party have been doing our best to get some of the hunger strikers released. One was released on Friday. Others would have been but for the mad act of burning down Lady White's house. That made it impossible for the prison authorities, however willing they were, to appear to give way to terrorism."

Mr. Hardie's Defence of Militancy

On the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Hardie, when speaking at a demonstration in Platt Fields, Rusholme, was much interrupted by Anti-Suffragists, and made this the occasion for a defence of the militants. "If women are not allowed a say in making the laws, they are justified in breaking them," he declared. And in answer to the query: "What about burning houses?" he continued: "When men were agitating for the franchise not only were houses burnt, but there was armed revolution and rioting."

The Militants' Explanation

Three of the militants signing themselves Edith Rigby, Helen Atkinson, and Eleanor Glidewell, wrote to him as follows:

"Dear Mr. Keir Hardie,—After reading the report of the good defence of women's militancy you made at Platt Fields yesterday, we feel bound, please, to write and tell you what desire is in the hearts of the women militants. If you would stand up in your own party and insist that a fighting attitude be taken up which would force the Government, at peril of its existence, to bring in a Votes for Women Bill—you and one or two more in your party who feel deeply about the need of this—how gladly would the militant women back you up and all who stood by you in this, the one honest demand. Until this is done resolutions and speeches of fine praise are of no help in forcing the Government's hand nor to save the lives of our women."

Two Arrests Made

Following upon this letter, there was a militant demonstration outside the Conference hall when the meeting adjourned on Monday afternoon.

As a result of the disturbance Mrs. Rigby and Miss Helen Atkinson were taken into custody. (See page 369.)

TAX RESISTANCE

We understand that the Duchess of Bedford has consented to become a member of the Women's Tax Resistance League. That Society will therefore conduct her protest when distraint has been levied for the non-payment of the property tax upon the Princes Skating Club, which, as we stated last week, the Duchess has decided not to pay, as a protest against the non - enfranchisement of women.

◆

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON TUESDAY, MARCH 25

Mr. Wedgwood asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the distraint levied by the Commissioners of Income Tax upon the goods of Mr. Oswald Powell, of Bedales, Petersfield, in order to collect Income Tax upon a probably non-existent income of his wife's, because his wife will not declare to him what, if any, her income is; whether other similar cases have occurred within the last two years; and whether he proposes to take any steps to prevent the penalisation in future at the whim of the local commissioners of any man whose wife happens to hold strong views on the suffrage question?

Mr. Lloyd George: I have been informed of the case referred to by my hon. friend. The District Commissioners of Taxes, in whom the law has vested the powers of determining questions of liability to Income Tax and of instructing collectors to recover taxes by distraint, are independent of Government control, and the Treasury have no authority to interfere with the exercise of their discretion in discharging the duties entrusted to them by Statute. I am not aware of any cases which support the suggestion that those Commissioners are in the habit of making arbitrary assessments with the object of penalising persons whose wives hold particular views.

◆

THE CHURCH MILITANT

An Outspoken Bishop

The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Talbot), speaking to the Mothers' Union at Winchester last Tuesday, said that they witnessed to-day acts to which he would be willing to apply any epithet of disgust and repulsion on the part of women, but while they condemned these acts and wondered that the tenderer sex should really think that by ways of force and violence right was done, they must be more determined that womanhood should be differently treated; that it should have greater dignity and a greater stake in life and greater equality. He thought that something of the fire that burned in this new movement came from the indignation to which he had alluded against women's wrongs.

◆

THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL ON MILITANCY

"Not Prepared to Condemn"

In a sermon preached on Easter Sunday at the City Temple, the Rev. R. J. Campbell said of the militant Suffragists:—

"When the Home Secretary testified the other day in the House of Commons that nothing could exceed the heroism and self-devotion of the Suffragists whom the law obliged him to keep in prison, he but paid unconscious tribute to the principle which is the very core of the Christian Gospel. These women are in deadly earnest, so much so that, as this responsible Minister of the Crown declared, they would welcome death itself if that would secure the triumph of their cause. Be sure no cause can be resisted for ever which can produce such a spirit. It is a just and righteous cause which, like all other spiritual movements, will enter into its kingdom by the Cross."

In an interview after the sermon, Mr. Campbell, questioned as to the Suffragists who employ physical force, replied: "I am not prepared to condemn them."

◆

THE LIGHTER SIDE

A HARROWING JOKE

Owing to the dearth of agricultural labourers, women are being employed in harrowing in Huntingdonshire. Many women will say that is nothing exceptional; their lot generally is harrowing.—**Daily Herald.**

FROM "PUNCH"

It has been laid down in court that hecklers may not be ejected from meetings. "The proper course," said the magistrate, "is to take such person's name and address, and apply for a summons." The process seems very swift and effective, but strikes us as rather too rough.

A severe earthquake was recorded by Mr. J. J. Shaw at West Bromwich, at 9 a.m. on the 14th inst. When will the militants learn that these tactics are only damaging their cause?

And now we come to the final reflection that there may be no need, after all, to take any steps to brighten cricket. The problem may solve itself. When we consider all that the W.S.P.U. has done in the last few months to brighten golf, surely there is no need to despair.

MARCHERS' QUI VIVE CORPS

Feeling that at the present crisis every effort should be made in the Cause of the Emancipation of Women the Marchers of the Qui Vive Corps have opened a depôt at 60, West Street, Horsham, as a centre of activity for propaganda in the Suffrage Cause. On Saturday afternoons the Corps will rally at the depôt, and marches will be made to some outlying district, where a meeting will be held. Longer marches will be made periodically to Brighton, Worthing, and the West of England. Members of all Suffrage Societies are invited to join the Corps, but while engaged in service for the Qui Vive must pledge themselves to be non-militant.

◆

PETITION AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

With reference to our note in a recent issue on the Irishwomen's Reform League petition against forcible feeding, we are asked to state that in addition to the names we have already given, Miss N. Manning was instrumental in obtaining many signatures to the petition, though not a member of the League.

◆

A CLASSICAL CIPHER

The first intimation of the hunger strike at Tullamore came to the husband of one of the prisoners in a telegram, which read: "Matthew six sixteen and Genesis one thirteen." The passages read: "Moreover when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: and the evening and the morning were the third day."—**Irish Citizen.**

◆

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road. Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS

The Marchers' Qui Vive Corps will hold a Meeting to-day (Friday) at the Town Hall, Horsham, at 8 p.m. The Rev. Claude Hinscliff and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck will speak, and the chair will be taken by Mrs. de Fonblanque, leader of the 400 miles' march from Edinburgh to London.

An address will be given by Dr. Stanton Coit at the Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, on Sunday, March 30, at 7 p.m., on "When to Break the Law." A discussion on the subject will follow immediately after the service in the Lecture Room, when visitors are invited to attend, and, whatever side they represent, to take part.

A meeting will be held by the Civil Service Woman Suffrage Society at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Wednesday, April 2, at 8 p.m. Speakers, Miss Amy Hicks, M.A., Miss Mary Fielden, and Mrs. Kennedy; Miss Winifred Mayo will recite. Tickets, 3d. and 6d., obtainable from the Secretary, Money Order Department, Manor Gardens, N.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage announce a meeting at the Church House, Westminster, on Wednesday, April 2, at 8 p.m. Subject: "The White Slave Traffic: An Imperial Responsibility." Chairman, the Ven. Archdeacon Escreet. Speakers, Lord Willoughby de Broke, Mrs. Nott-Bower, and Miss Maud Bell.

There will be a lecture at the Suffrage Club, 52, New Bond Street, W., on Thursday, April 3, at 3.30 p.m. Speaker, Miss G. Binnie Clark. Chair, Miss Haig. Subject, "Women and Land in Canada."

ALFRED DAY,
Ladies' Tailor
All Garments made in own workrooms.
COAT AND SKIRT
MADE TO MEASURE FROM
£2 : 2 : 0
Serge Coat & Skirt 2 2 0
Tweed Cloth or Linen ... 2 2 9
Flannel, Hopsacks, Suitings, &c. ... 2 12 6
Faced Cloth, Covert Coating 3 3 0
Full Length Coat 2 2 0
Send a postcard for Patterns and Designs Post Free.
A special study made of fitting from pattern Bodices or Self-measurement Form.

CARRIAGE PAID TO ANY PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.
ALFRED DAY,
51 and 52, Park St., Regent's Park
(Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

HAYFORD'S
"SPECIAL" SKIN GLOVES.
REALLY WASHABLE.
WHITE. CREAM. NATL. 2 Buttons. 2/11 & 3/11
SAXE, to pull on. 3/11 Elastic Wrists.
GLOVE STORES, SLOANE ST., S.W.

PAY FOR ALL
Women under ordinary circumstances are not paid as well as men; when we get the Vote no doubt they will be, but why wait? It cannot all be arranged in a month or two. Take up a new profession now that is paid better than is the work of most men. Learn Scientific Face Massage or Swedish Massage. Send for Illustrated Prospectus to THE MANAGERESS, HARLEY INSTITUTE, 141, MARYLEBONE ROAD, W., or call—the place is just opposite Great Central Railway—but "do it now," the cost is moderate at present.

THE HANOVER DRESS COMPANY
Genuine MODELS &c
from the leading Parisian and London firms at LESS THAN COST PRICES.
Gowns and Costumes completed — by experienced fitters. —
35, OLD BOND STREET, near PICCADILLY. Tel., 6188 Ger.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY.
Good Work and Good Wages.
THE BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY,
19., BEETHOVEN ST., KILBURN
HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.
SEND A POST CARD FOR PRICE LIST.
NO HOSPITALS OR HOTEL CONTRACTS TAKEN

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY 69, Upper St., London, N.
MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon.
MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Assist. Dental Surgeon
Established 35 years.
Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. FEE, 7s. 6d.
A record of 30,000 successful cases. Nurse in attendance. Mechanical work in all its branches.
THE BEST ARTIFICIAL TEETH from 5s.
Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Tel. No. 6348 Central
No Show-case at door.

Established 1820. E. DAY & CO., Tel. No. 2840 P.O. Hampstead
FRENCH CLEANING & DYEING WORKS.
NETTOYAGE A SEC.
5, Brecknock Road, and 275, High Street, Camden Town, N.W.
Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable Shades.
Receiving Houses: 10, Russell Gardens Kensington, W. 63, Rosslyn Hill Hampstead, N.W.

William CLARKE & SON,
341, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS, W.C.
95, QUEEN'S ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.
COAL.
Silkstone .. .. .. 27/- | Roaster Nuts 23/0
Best Household .. 25/6 | Large Kitchen .. 22/6
Special House .. .. 25/- | Stove Coal 21/6
Best Nuts .. .. 24/6 | Anthracite Nuts .. 40/-
Coke, per Chaldron, 15/-.
Telephones: 3656, 1592 and 2718 North, 565 Paddington, &c.

BLANK & Co., TELEPHONE: 2682 NORTH.
ART DYERS AND CLEANERS.
NOW is the time for SPRING CLEANING.
Please write or 'phone for Price List.
We Alter and Repair Ladies' and Gent.'s Garments
303, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, W.C.

THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"
SCHWEITZER'S Cocoatina
THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"

THE FERNDOWN MOTOR AGENCY, FERNDOWN, WIMBORNE, DORSET.
WE CAN SUPPLY ALL YOUR REQUIREMENTS FOR YOUR MOTOR CAR or CYCLE, Tyres, Horns, &c., by return of post, CARRIAGE PAID ANYWHERE.
ANY MAKE OF CAR or MOTOR CYCLE supplied. Your OLD CAR IN PART PAYMENT.
LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICES AND HIGHEST POSSIBLE SATISFACTION.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word

(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

DEMONSTRATION in HYDE PARK.—The Women's Freedom League will hold a demonstration in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday, March 30, at noon. Among the speakers will be: Miss Husband (Dundee), Mrs. Whetton (Southsea), Miss Hare (Hove), Miss Murray (Cardross), Miss Jack (Edinburgh), Miss Murray, Miss Andrews, Miss E. J. Read.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AT CAXTON HALL.—On Monday, March 31, at 8 p.m., lecture by Miss Helena Normanton, B.A., on "The Origin and History of English Poor Law." Chairman: Miss Eunice Murray. Admission by ticket—2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.—from Women's Freedom League Office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and at doors. On Wednesday, April 2, at 3.30: Speakers, Dr. Kathleen Vaughan on "The Position of Medical Women in India" and Miss Eunice Murray. Admission free.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft). Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house; 25 bedrooms, billiard room, bathroom; extensive grounds; tennis; conveyances; vegetarians accommodated; Suffragists welcomed; board residence, 30s. to 37s. 6d.; photos, prospectus, Chas. Hallam, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; south aspect; bracing.—Box 266, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

WEST HEATH HOSTEL, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W. (near Platt's Lane), open April 15; 1 to 2¼ guineas a week; exceptional position, delightful gardens.—Apply Mrs. Errol Boyd.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHELSEA. — Two nice Unfurnished Rooms, first floor. No other lodgers or children. 10s. 6d. Lady engaged during day preferred. No bathroom.—69, Royal Hospital Road.

CHELSEA.—Large Unfurnished Front Room to let in nicely kept house. Can have use of bathroom.—M., 21, Oakley Street.

HEATHFIELD, Ilkley, Yorks.—Large furnished house, close to golf links, to let furnished for six weeks from first week in August; four reception, eleven bedrooms, two bathrooms; garden, tennis lawn.—Apply Miss Thompson, Heathfield, Ilkley, Yorks.

IN one of the healthiest and most beautiful Estates, on famous golf links. Picturesque and well-built houses to be let or sold. Prices from £350; rents from £32 p.a. Houses of any size to suit purchasers will be built on instalment system, under which repayments do not exceed rent. Gravel soil, main drainage and water, bracing air, golf club, residents' club, tennis, croquet, cricket, bowls, miniature rifle range, &c. 13½ miles from Bank; splendid service of trains for business men. Illustrated booklet post free.—Apply Estate Office, Department D., Gidea Park, Essex.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

SAVERNAKE FOREST. — Furnished Cottage, suit two married couples or party of girls, for six (6) weeks from July 26. Garden, large lawn for garden games.—Mrs. Miller, Breamore Lodge, Marlborough, Wilts.

WANTED.

AFTER EASTER.—Board-Residence required in country house or fruit farm, West of England, for Suffrage working requiring rest and change.—Terms, Box 342, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a specialitiy.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities. — Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10a, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LADIES suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of postal tuition; writing, correct speech, correspondence.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road,

MISS HUGOLIN HAWEIS resumes her lessons in speaking, acting, and reciting. Brighton visited weekly.—Address, 13, West Cromwell Road, S.W.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism.—Miss Addis Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application. —36, Long Acre. 'Phone 1642 Gerard.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

WOMAN and the MOTOR-CAR.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W. Ladies can join all our classes of instruction. Prospectus free on application. 150 test questions and answers on motoring. Questions free. Answers, 1s. 1d., by post. 20,000 sold.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W.

TO GIRLS SEEKING A USEFUL AND ATTRACTIVE CALLING.

ANSTEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, ERDINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE, offers a full professional training in the following subjects: Swedish Educational and Medical Gymnastics, Aesthetic Dancing, Folk Dancing, Swimming, Games, Anatomy, Hygiene, &c.

Good Posts Obtained after Training.

WOMEN FARMERS!—Practical training at Lovegrove's Dairy and Poultry Farms.—Write prospectus, Kate Lelacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

BUSINESS, Etc.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

WANTED.—Lady as Improver or Manageress for small dairy farm. Must be able to milk well and not be afraid of responsibility.—Mrs. Dutton, Springhall, Sawbridgeworth.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

LADY SECRETARY wishes for re-engagement. Shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, references given and required. —M. L. S., c.o. Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

ARTISTIC MILLINERY and DRESSMAKING.—Specialities: Light-weight Hats, Hand-embroidered Dresses, Evening Gowns. West End style. Mourning orders. Renovations.—Marcel, Broadway, Winchmore Hill, N.

MADAME DE VALLOISE, Court Milliner, 18, Berners Street, has opened a Renovation Department. Hats and Dresses remodelled to look like new, at reasonable charges.

MILLINERY. — Smart and Artistic Models at moderate prices; renovations, from 5s., a speciality.—Miss Angus, Robarts and Geen, 4, Conduit Street, W.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's)

LAUNDRY.

A CAREFUL, EXPERIENCED HAND LAUNDRESS can undertake Laundering of a family's linen; 9 years' reference.—Anna Jones, Kathleen Laundry, Palmerston Road, South Acton. Special arrangements for collecting country linen.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collection; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S LINEN carefully washed and daintily finished by Beaven's Lavender Laundry. A trial solicited. A postcard receives prompt attention.—90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction.

THE HILLSIDE LAUNDRY, Shaftesbury Road, Mill Hill Park, W., has vacancies for one or two families' washing; highest wages paid employees, but charges the same as other laundries. Trial solicited. Telephone, 874 Chiswick.

THE NEW GROSVENOR LAUNDRY, 55, Strafford Road, South Acton, W., undertake family work only; flannels washed in distilled water; open-air drying ground; highest class work at moderate prices. Telephone 10 Chiswick.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses. —Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Great Portland Street, W.

FACE MASSAGE and HAIR TREATMENT hygienically performed by certificated masseuses; manicure; recommended by a member, a doctor's wife.—"Iris," 124, Regent Street.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

JEWELLERY.

WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

DELICIOUS HOME-MADE CAKES and CHOCOLATES.—Speciality, Iced Orange Cakes, 1s. 6d. to 3s. each. Assorted Chocolates, 3s. 6d. lb, post free. Send for price list. —Edith Woollan, 125, Walm Lane, Cricklewood.

FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

GIVE THE FISHERMAN A CHANCE!

FRESH FISH, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; cleansed; carriage paid; lists free.—The Fisherman's Syndicate, No. 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blouses wanted. The extreme value remitted.—Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

BLUTHNER PIANO.—Fine tone, perfect condition; great bargain.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free. — Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

CORSETS to MEASURE, from 12s. 6d. Any pattern copied; renovations and cleanings; personal attention.—Emilie, 16-17, Burlington Arcade, W.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.).

HAIR COMBINGS transformed into a beautiful glossy tail for 2s. post free; special hygienic process making hair soft and silky. Price list free.—Woottons, Hair Artists, Dept. F., Ipswich.

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all hers, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

HAVE YOUR OWN BOOKPLATE.—Artistic, original, specially designed. Inclusive cost of design, block, and 100 plates, from 17s. 6d. upwards, according to style and detail. Marvellous value. Specimens submitted free.—Henry K. Ward, 49, Great Portland Street, London, W.

MARVELLOUS OFFER!—Handsome box note and envelopes, printed with your address (in Suffrage colours), 1s. 6d. (2 boxes 2s. 6d.), post free. Patronise those who support you.—Stanley's Library, Tweedy Road, Bromley.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made; if unaccepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woodfall and Company, Southport.

PEACH'S LACE CURTAINS.—Send for descriptive book, post free. 650 examples from the actual makers. Imperial Patent Hem Curtains, new straight edges. Casement Fabrics, Muslins, Cretonne, Linens, Underwear.—S. Peach and Sons, 271, The Looms, Nottingham.

SKIRTS and BLOUSES of "FLAXzella"—genuine Irish Linen fabric; dainty, washable and durable. Over 200 latest patterns and catalogue free! Beautiful shades. Send a postcard to-day!—Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

STUD Toy Pom., "Lauderdale Hypolite," chocolate. Fee 21s. Sale, handsome Peke puppy, splendid companion, 63s.; tiny black Pom, 42s.—28, Stretton Road, E. Croydon.

TYPEWRITING and TRANSLATIONS.—Literary and Dramatic work a speciality. Best work. Special terms to members W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Marks, The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 63, Finsbury Pavement, E.C. Tel.: 5638 London Wall

WHERE TO SHOP

Bedding Manufacturers

Shoolbred & Co.

Bootmakers

Benduble Shoe Co.
Derry & Toms
Peter Robinson
William Owen

Coal Merchants

W. Clarke & Sons

Dentists

Chodwick Brown

Drapers and Hosiers

Debenham's
Derry & Toms
Dickins & Jones
Hayfords
Jaegers
Marshall Roberts, Ltd.
Peter Robinson
William Owen

Dyers and Dry Cleaners

Blank & Co.
E. Day & Co.

Florists, &c.

Alexander & Co.
Derry & Toms

Furnishers

Derry & Toms
Shoolbred & Co.
William Owen

Hotels.

Strand Imperial Hotel
Thackeray Hotel

Jewellers and Silversmiths

Goldsmiths and Silversmith's Co.
Robinson Bros.

Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers

Burberrys
Alfd. Day
Debenham's
Derry & Toms
Dickins & Jones
G. Chapman & Co.
Hanover Dress Co.
H. J. Nicoll & Co., Ltd.
Peter Robinson
William Owen

Laundries

Beaconsfield Laundry
Hills de Laundry
Lavender Laundry
Model Laundry
New Grosvenor Laundry

Milliners

Debenham's
Derry & Toms
Dickins & Jones
French Hat Shop
Peter Robinson
William Owen

Musical Instruments.

Dimoline Pianos

Specialities

Bond's Marking Ink
Evans' Pastilles
Schweitzer's Cocoatina
Toye Banner and Badges

Toilet Preparations

Allen-Brown
John Knight's Soap

Printed by Walbrook & Co., Ltd., 13, 14 & 15, Whitefriars Street, London, E.C., for the Proprietors of Votes for Women, and Published by them at 4 to 7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.